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# HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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## SOCIAL RESEARCH

## LUSAKA, NORTHERN RHODESIA

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To provide accurate scientific information on the social life of man for Governments and other persons working with human beings in this area.

To disseminate this accurate information as widely as possible to the public.

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# HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

## XXIX

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J. CLYDE MITCHELL

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The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal

**Human Problems in British Central Africa**

*Editorial Board*

Professor Elizabeth Colson, Professor Max Gluckman,
Professor J. Clyde Mitchell

*Co-ordinating Editor:* The Director of the Institute

This Journal, published half-yearly in June and December, aims to define simply, but with scientific accuracy, the social problems facing man in Central Africa, to record what is known of such problems and to report on research being undertaken and required in the future.

Contributions are not confined to research by the Institute's past and present staff: articles and notes are welcome from all those working in the field covered, or those engaged on similar problems elsewhere whose findings are applicable to the Central African field.

The standard length of articles is in the region of 10,000 words, but longer or shorter articles will be considered from time to time. Articles should be accompanied by summaries of 100–200 words.

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2. The presentation should be uniform throughout, i.e. a system of headings, once decided upon, should be adhered to. The numbering of paragraphs or sections should be avoided.
3. Footnotes should be kept to a minimum.
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11. Authors receive 25 offprints of their article *gratis*. Those who wish to purchase additional copies must inform the editor at the time the manuscript is accepted.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

IN this number of the Journal, Mr. Fosbrooke presents his report on the Institute's programme which was aided by the financial assistance provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme R.698 covering 1956–60. Mr. Fosbrooke became director of the Institute early in 1956 and left at the end of 1960. He has now returned to Tanganyika, and all who knew him and Mrs. Fosbrooke will join in sending our good wishes for continued activity in their new pursuits and researches there.

Dr. Epstein writes on his fieldwork in Ndola six years ago, by utilizing texts from informants in the same way as is customary in much rural study. Texts collected today would probably make less mention of the African National Congress and more of the United National Independence Party, which had not started in 1955–6. But in other respects his material closely reflects contemporary attitudes. In drawing his conclusions, Dr. Epstein makes use of ' the network ' concept in sociology, avoiding such excesses as have characterized its recent use as alleging that ' networks ' have ' gradients '. He emphasizes the social importance of gossip and interrelates a number of observations he, and Professor Mitchell, have published elsewhere.

The Lenshina movement has been a familiar feature of the Chinsali district for some years, and its name has spread throughout Northern Rhodesia. There is much scope for research here both historical and sociological, and it is perhaps surprising that this field has hitherto been neglected. A start in remedying this gap has now been made by Mr. Rotberg in his paper in which he outlines the inception and some of the features of Lenshina's movement. It is to be hoped that this will stimulate more detailed studies.

*Contributors to this Issue*

**H. A. Fosbrooke,** sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, was director of the Institute from 1956 to 1960. Coming to Northern Rhodesia from Tanganyika after 24 years' service there, he recently returned to the Kilimanjaro region to complete a book and a number of articles on historical and anthropological subjects.

**A. L. Epstein** commenced his work in Central Africa as a Colonial Research Fellow, studying African courts. He subsequently became Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, studying urban communities on the Copperbelt, as a result of which he wrote *Politics in an Urban African Community*. He has also held research posts at Manchester and Canberra Universities, and done some fieldwork recently in New Britain.

**Robert Rotberg** spent a year in 1959 in Central Africa as an affiliate of the Institute, studying some effects of missions on society in Northern Rhodesia. The results of his fieldwork were presented in 1960 as a doctorate thesis to Oxford University. He is at present attached to the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

# HISTORY OF COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE RESEARCH SCHEME R.698

by

H. A. FOSBROOKE

## Introduction

THE original system of the Director's reporting to Trustees since the inception of the Institute in 1937 was by means of triennial reports published in the Journal.[1] To bring the timing of these reports into line with the periods of the C.D. & W. grants, at the conclusion of scheme R.370 the 'History of Research Scheme R.370' was published in 1958, covering the whole period 1951–6.[2] As the subsequent scheme R.698 ended on 31st March 1960, the present is an appropriate time to report on the period 1956–60. It will be noted that this covers four years only, due to the system whereby a new C.D. & W. Act is introduced one year before the previous Act expires. As in the case of previous reports, the stories of on-going projects or negotiations have been followed through to the time of writing (December 1960) to give the report as much topicality as the inevitable delays in publication permit.

## Administration

### *Board of Trustees*

The period opened with a small Board of Trustees consisting of seven members all from Northern Rhodesia. This was reasonable when the bulk of our financial support came from Northern Rhodesia. But when a Federal Government was set up and the University College in Salisbury established, the existing system became outmoded, and a major reorganization was undertaken within the framework of existing legislation. The Board was increased to fourteen members, but as this made it somewhat unwieldy and

[1] See Wilson, G. B. (1941), *Report to Trustees*. Roneoed and privately circulated. Gluckman, M. (1944), *Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the years 1941–2–3*. Privately printed and circulated. Gluckman, M. (1948), 'Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the years 1944–5–6', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 6, pp. 64–79. Colson, E. (1950), 'Director's Report to the Trustees of Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on the work of the years 1947–8–9', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 10, pp. 73–93. Mitchell, J. C. (1955), 'The Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute during the years 1950–1–2', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 17, pp. 24–49.

[2] See Fosbrooke, H. A. (1958), 'History of Research Scheme R.370', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 23, pp. 1–11.

difficult to convene speedily, a Standing Committee was established consisting of five members, all resident in Lusaka.

*Committees and Consultants*

The Standing Committee met nineteen times during the four-year period, as well as conducting a considerable amount of business by the circulation of papers. In addition, a Research Committee was established on which the University College was represented by two members, whilst workers in allied fields—the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, the Curator of the National Museum, Bulawayo, and a representative of the Department of Census and Statistics were also appointed to the Committee. In place of the system of joint editors, an Editorial Board was formed consisting of three ex-Directors, Professors Gluckman, Colson and Mitchell, with the Director as Co-ordinating Editor. Consultants were also chosen from amongst the specialists in African studies representing sociology, anthropology, geography and race relations.

*Headquarters Administration*

The Institute enjoyed continuity of direction for the whole period of the scheme. Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke having taken over in March 1956, continued as Director throughout. Greater continuity was also obtained in the post of Administrative Secretary. Miss J. Longton left on her marriage at the end of 1956, Miss M. S. Marsden took over until July 1959, when the present holder, Mr. G. G. Murrell, assumed office. In view of the considerable development of estate work, the maintenance of a fleet of vehicles and the consequent increase in subordinate staff, it was felt more appropriate that the position should be held by a man.

Financial provision for the post of Research Secretary appeared for the first time in scheme R.698 with a view to providing the Director with assistance in his editorial and other head office duties and providing field staff with someone at Headquarters who could assist them in their search for references and in processing their material. Dr. R. J. Apthorpe was the first holder of the post, arriving to take up his duties in July 1957. To be of maximum use to his colleagues in the field, the holder of such a post should himself have had some experience of field work conditions. For this reason Dr. Apthorpe sought to take up some field work and chose to study aspects of Nsenga society, particularly concepts of clanship and social status differentiation. In view of the fact that the Research Secretary was a research worker in his own right it was felt that the post would be more appropriately called ' Research Officer Headquarters '. Dr. Apthorpe held the post until November 1959, when he chose to undertake a full-length research project. After a gap he was replaced in April 1960 by Mr. A. A. Dubb.

Greater continuity was achieved in the Library where Mrs. U. K.

Stevenson, F.L.A., worked, with gaps for overseas leave, for the whole of the period.

There were numerous changes in African personnel, but three of the Research Assistants, one Headquarters and two Field, who were engaged prior to the commencement of the scheme, were still in employment when it concluded.

To ensure greater continuity a Provident Fund Scheme was introduced for both Headquarters and Field staff. After various adjustments, the benefits for expatriate and local staff were brought into line on the basis of 10 per cent employer and 5 per cent employee contributions.

*Buildings*

When proposals for scheme R.698 were submitted by Professor Mitchell, then Director of the Institute, a token sum was included for the provision of further living accommodation at the Institute. When detailed plans were considered, it was agreed that these should provide for a family-type three-bedroomed house for the Director, with a guest flat, and an additional block of two semi-detached two-bedroomed quarters for Research Staff. Pressure on the housing designed for junior staff was relieved by the construction of servants' quarters adjacent to senior staff quarters. Further, an advanced type of house was built for the senior Research Assistant and a block of six single quarters for the assistant staff of visiting field workers and for students on vacation employment. These last named quarters completed a square which became known as ' The Green ', the centre for African corporate life at the Institute.

The main office buildings were in 1956 subject to minor alterations at a cost of about £1,000, leading to the more efficient use of the existing floor space. Thereafter, in 1957–8, an additional wing was built from the Institute's own funds, providing three studies for field workers and a small seminar room. This last is designed to become the foyer to a larger meeting hall, for which funds have not yet been provided.

The pressure on shelf space in the library and the overcrowding in the seminar room when conferences and meetings are held emphasizes the necessity for a new library and an enlarged hall. Modest but suitable plans have been drawn up which also enable the space vacated to be suitably utilized as additional offices and studies.

It will be recalled that the first Institute buildings were sited in thick *Brachystegia* woodlands in 1952. The area of the grounds was extended from eight to fifteen acres in 1956, and the development of the whole area undertaken on a systematic basis. As a result, by the end of the period the grounds had an air of maturity with ornamental bushes and trees well established.

*Recruitment*

This proved the biggest stumbling block in the fulfilment of the

1956–60 Research Scheme: especially towards the end of the period, events in the political sphere, both locally and throughout Africa, had undoubtedly an adverse effect on recruitment, whilst other misfortunes also occurred in this sphere. Two workers, one in 1959 and one in 1960, failed to take up their posts within a week or two of sailing; earlier another officer was prevented by illness from taking up his post at the last minute. In other cases, officers recruited from overseas found difficulty in settling down in the local environment, as a result of which we had three resignations before the projects for which the officers were recruited had really got into their stride. In the course of the period, the recruiting system was overhauled. Previously, applications were called for by the Colonial Office Social Science Research Council and processed through the Colonial Office. Later, however, the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas kindly undertook the task—a much more satisfactory system particularly in view of the close association between this, and all the other African research institutions, with the developing University Colleges of Africa.

## Finance

Scheme R.370 had been based on a lump sum contribution from C.D. & W. of £100,000 of which £29,000 was allocated to Buildings and £71,000 designated to cover the cost of headquarters administration and field research. As additional support had also been obtained from local sources, the period closed with a balance of some £24,000, and the new grant was made conditional on these ' reserves ' being run down.

The new scheme R.698, supplemented by R.698A, was based on a new principle, namely, that C.D. & W. should be responsible for financing the running of Headquarters provided local support was forthcoming for field work at a rate commensurate with the Headquarters organization. Sir Arthur Benson, then President of the Board, launched an appeal which resulted in an assured income of £8,000 a year from the Northern Rhodesia Government, £3,250 from the Federal Government, £3,000 each from the two main mining groups—Anglo-American and Rhodesian Selection Trust—and smaller contributions from other governmental and non-governmental sources. During the course of the scheme, the ' reserves ', run down in the first year of the scheme, again began to mount. This was in part due to the time-lag in recruitment, but the major factor contributing to the situation was the contribution which the various governments commissioning research from the Institute made to our funds. Over the four years this amounted to a total of some £24,000. Although this in effect represented deferred research, in that the workers concerned had been employed on *ad hoc* jobs rather than the fundamental research originally envisaged, the British financial authorities regarded the Institute as too affluent

to qualify for further assistance and the grant of around £12,000 a year was not paid in respect of the fourth year of the scheme. In spite of this, the Institute closed with a net balance of some £22,000 after deducting £4,000 in Staff Provident Fund and £5,500 in the Publications Revolving Fund. Thus work throughout the period was not inhibited by lack of finance, but rather by the difficulties experienced in recruitment.

## Research

Whilst the greater proportion of the Institute's research is undertaken by its own staff, the work received considerable reinforcement from affiliated workers from overseas. These may be fully financed by some foundation or university, in which case a fee is charged for the Institute's services: in other cases, a worker may have received a grant insufficient to carry out his programme, in which event the fee may be waived and a supplementary grant made from Institute funds.

Or yet again, particularly in the early years of the period under report, the affiliation might be less formal and without financial implication. Whilst in the following section the work of both Institute staff and affiliates is described under the appropriate head, a complete list of affiliates appears on page 27. It will be noted that the Institute's programme covers all the communities, European, Asian and African and all three territories of Central Africa.

### *African Studies*

*Sociographic Work:* Dr. D. G. Bettison was appointed to the Institute in January 1957. He spent the first six months of the year establishing the Institute's team of research workers at Blantyre/Limbe, at the request of the Nyasaland Government, where he was fortunate in recruiting Miss Valerie Ellis as a local research officer. She subsequently took complete charge of the work under Dr. Bettison's supervision. The project continued until June 1959 when Dr. Bettison accepted a teaching appointment in Australia.

A number of reports have already been issued (see Publications, Appendix A) whilst the analysis and write-up of other aspects of the work still continues.

Concurrently with the Nyasaland work, Dr. Bettison launched his Lusaka enquiry on behalf of the Northern Rhodesia African Housing Board in July 1957. This work has resulted in Communication 16 and, in conjunction with the Nyasaland work and a short enquiry in Salisbury, also produced a comparative poverty datum line study, published in Journals 27 and 28. The Salisbury study was a brief *ad hoc* enquiry conducted at the request of the Government of Southern Rhodesia. Some of the results are reproduced as an Appendix to the Plewman Commission report.

*Rural Work:* The first worker in the field, in April 1956, was

Mr. A. Tuden, a Ford Foundation Fellow, who spent a year studying the Ila, the tribe made famous in anthropological literature by the combined work of Smith and Dale. He remained in the field until April, 1957, and has since started publishing his results.

The most urgent task, at the commencement of the scheme, was to begin work amongst the Valley Tonga. This project had long been scheduled for investigation but the inundation arising from the building of the Kariba Dam meant that little time remained for this to be done. It was impossible to adopt the standard technique of a five-year project with the worker learning the language and getting to know the people as the work developed. It was necessary to find a ready-made worker with knowledge of the language and people and the Institute was extremely fortunate when Dr. Elizabeth Colson agreed to undertake the work. A previous Director of the Institute, she had resigned owing to ill-health in 1951. Fortunately, her health permitted a return to the field and she commenced work in September, 1956, assisted by a colleague, Dr. T. Scudder, who was engaged on the environmental aspects of the study, leaving Dr. Colson free to concentrate on the political and social organization. At the time of writing, December 1960, the Valley Tonga country is, of course, under water. Fortunately a record of their life in the area will be available in Drs. Colson's and Scudder's books, the former already published and the latter in the press. These two volumes form part of a joint series produced with the co-operation of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum at Livingstone and the Institute. As all three bodies had undertaken various aspects of the investigations, physical, social and anthropological, in the Zambesi Valley, it was felt that the resulting reports would have greater appeal if published in a uniform series, rather than separately. It is hoped that Drs. Colson and Scudder will return to undertake Phase II of their enquiry in the academic year 1962–3. This phase will concentrate on the adaptations in the social and the economic life which the Tonga have necessarily had to make in response to the changed environment of the resettlement areas. It is not too early to envisage the third phase of the enquiry when the Lake margin has stabilized itself and the local tribesmen begin to be affected by the lacustrine environment. It may well be that fishing and lakeshore agriculture will completely change the mode of living of these people.

1957 saw more rural workers in the field. Dr. A. I. Richards, whose work amongst the Bemba in the thirties produced the standard works on that tribe, returned for a three month visit in 1957 under Leverhulme sponsorship.

Mr. W. J. Argyle was recruited as the Institute's field anthropologist in June 1957 and commenced his field work amongst the Soli living to the east of Lusaka. This research continued for 2½ years and whilst primarily a rural study, investigations were also

conducted amongst the urban Soli living in Lusaka. Since January 1960, Mr. Argyle has been engaged on his write-up at Oxford: his thesis is expected shortly.

Dr. Raymond Apthorpe, when working as Research Secretary, undertook two field trips to Nsenga country where he specialized on a study of clanship: results of this work to date will be seen in the Publication List, Appendix A.

In November 1959 he embarked on a new project involving the comparative study of indigenous political institutions in Northern Rhodesia and their adaptation to modern conditions. Having been largely concerned in the 13th Conference 'From Tribal Rule to Modern Government', he was able to get off to a flying start on the new project and then went to England in July 1960 to pursue the work still further by interviews with past field workers in Northern Rhodesia and by the perusal of records in libraries. He is due to return for a further period of field study in December 1960.

An affiliate, Mr. B. Floyd, a Cambridge graduate working for a Ph.D. at Syracuse, N.Y., undertook employment as a Land Development Officer in Southern Rhodesia so that he could see the workings of the African Land Husbandry Act, his field of study, from the inside. On the conclusion of his employment he spent some time at the Institute. We are happy to have a copy of his thesis in the Library and arrangements have been made with the Southern Rhodesia Government to publish a limited edition of this.

In September 1958, Dr. and Mrs. P. Roumeguere of the Sorbonne came out to Central Africa with an International African Institute Fellowship to study the Kalanga of Southern Rhodesia. The Institute helped them with transport, equipment and some further finances as the work proved costly, having extensive ramifications ranging from the Okovango swamp in Bechuanaland to the Northern Transvaal. This naturally increased costs of transportation. Although the I.A.I. grant expired in August 1959, these workers continued in the field under their own resources until December 1960.

In 1958 the Institute was approached by the Northern Province Development Commissioner with a view to its studying the Bemba rural economy. Miss A. Tweedie was appointed as a Local Research Officer and commenced work in February 1959 amongst the Bemba of the Kasama district of the Northern Province. Her task was to ascertain, primarily by the collection of rural family budgets, the degree to which the local economy has depended on its own subsistence agriculture and how far it is supported by injected remittances from workers on the Copperbelt.

Another project concerned with rural economic development and assisted by the N.P.D.C., was undertaken by Mr. G. Kay (a Human Geographer), working in conjunction with the Fort Rosebery Health and Nutrition Scheme. That work, at the time of writing, is nearing completion and it has been agreed that the balance of Mr. Kay's

contract should be spent on the plotting of the settlement pattern of the Northern and Luapula provinces.

Another rural study of a socio-economic nature was undertaken by Mr. C. H. La Muniere, of Harvard, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation. Commencing his field work in June 1959, he is currently engaged in a socio-economic study of the Kafue fishing industry. It is hoped that he will obtain an extension to his period of study and after a preliminary write-up in the 1960–1 rainy season, complete his observations with further field work in the dry season of 1961.

*Urban Work:* Following the high standard of enquiry set by Professor Mitchell in this field, it is disappointing to report that in spite of every endeavour very little substantial work was achieved in the period 1956–60. An effort was made to build up an industrial section with the appointment of an industrial sociologist in 1958, with an assistant trained particularly in aptitude testing. Difficulties, however, soon arose which led to the termination of these appointments and the closure of the industrial section on which we had pinned such high hopes.

Another set-back in the urban field work occurred when the Urban Sociologist selected to undertake studies amongst the African population of the Copperbelt, failed to take up his appointment within ten days of his planned arrival at Ndola.

On the assumption that the Institute would possess a functioning industrial section, a commission was accepted from the Federal Government and the Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia to undertake an enquiry into absenteeism and labour turnover. This was part of an Africa-wide enquiry organized by the Inter-African Labour Institute, a protégé of the Commission for Technical Co-operation for Africa South of the Sahara. In the absence of a professional industrial sociologist, the work had to be undertaken by locally appointed staff under Mr. A. Burnett and his successor Mr. R. Newton-Howse. For this and other reasons it was impossible to undertake the necessary pilot study so that all that could be done was to follow, with minor adaptations, the procedure adopted by the National Institute of Personal Research at Johannesburg, which was undertaking the South African enquiry. Field work was completed at the end of June 1960, and the Research Officer Headquarters, Mr. Dubb, undertook the processing of the material and preparation of the Report.

We are greatly obliged to the officers of the N.I.P.R. who proved throughout to be so generous with their advice and assistance. The present position concerning this enquiry is that a Preliminary Report was submitted in July 1960, and a Supplementary Report completed in January 1961. This latter will be made available for the meeting of the I.L.I. which, after postponement, is scheduled to take place in April 1961.

Affiliates of the Institute furthered urban research in the period

under report. Dr. W. B. Schwab of Philadelphia spent some months in late 1955 and early 1956 on problems of urbanization in Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, whilst Professor James Coleman undertook an intensive study of African leadership in the urban centres throughout the Rhodesias.

*European Sociology*

The Trustees authorized two studies in the field of European sociology, one concerning the instability of the Copperbelt population and the other the adaptation of European immigrants into Southern Rhodesian society. A psychologist from Edinburgh, Mr. P. J. McEwan, was appointed to undertake the Copperbelt enquiry, but at the time of his arrival in March 1959, changed conditions made it unsuitable to embark on this project, and Mr. McEwan undertook the Southern Rhodesia project instead. He will be engaged on field work until early 1961 and thereafter return to Edinburgh to analyse and write-up the vast amount of material which has been collected.

*The Asian Community*

An affiliated Fulbright worker, Professor F. Dotson, a sociologist from Connecticut University, assisted by his wife, Dr. L. Dotson, commenced his study of the Asian communities of Central Africa in July 1959. Based at the Institute, he has concentrated mainly on Lusaka during this first year of study, and his application for a further year's study having been granted, he intends to supplement the intensive work already undertaken in other areas by more extensive study.

*Linguistics*

The first undertaking in the linguistic field was the publication of a Communication by Father Fortune, now Professor of African Languages at the University College in Salisbury, entitled *A Preliminary Study of the Bantu Languages of the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland*. Later Mrs. Carter, lately of the School of Oriental and African Studies, was awarded a C.S.S.R.C. grant for the study of the Tonga language. Circumstances necessitated that the work originally planned for one year should be extended over a longer period but a preliminary report is now available.

Dr. I. Richardson of the School of Oriental and African Studies spent from September 1959 to August 1960 on a study of the Bemba language. It was arranged that Mr. P. Rigby, appointed as a sociolinguist to the Institute, should commence his project by studying Bemba under Dr. Richardson but unfortunately, after five months in the field, Mr. Rigby resigned in March, 1960.

*Miscellaneous*

Additional work tackled by affiliates covered a variety of subjects

Mr. P. Stutley, a District Officer from Basutoland who was preparing a thesis for Reading University, put in a month at the Institute in March and April 1959 working on systems of marketing African produce.

Mr. R. Rotberg, an American Rhodes Scholar, worked from January 1959 to December 1959 on his study of the part played by the Missions in the development of Northern Rhodesia. Assisted jointly by C.S.S.R.C. and the Institute, he received an additional grant from the Rockefeller Foundation which enabled him to undertake more extensive travelling than would otherwise have been possible.

Dr. Monica Cole of the University of North Staffordshire was granted affiliation to undertake a four month (June–September 1959) study of the relationship between the distribution of the vegetation and the geomorphology of Central Africa.

Mr. M. P. Miracle of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California, was resident at the Institute for some time in connexion with his Africa-wide study of Maize: another visitor was Mr. E. Dean, an American graduate student engaged on a study of African marketing.

Mr. R. B. Sutcliffe, the student affiliated to the Institute, who arrived in November 1958 in connexion with the Voluntary Service Overseas Organization, returned to England in September 1959 to take up his place as an undergraduate at Worcester College, Oxford. In addition to rendering general assistance in all departments, he completed a study in connexion with a wider Social Security enquiry undertaken by the Director, on the degree to which Africans were making use of existing saving facilities.

*Future Research Plans*

Much time and thought was devoted during the closing months of the scheme to the formulation of a research programme for the next five years 1960–5. After taking into consideration the views of the Government departments concerned in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and after discussions with the University College Social Science Research Committee, a finalized programme was accepted by Trustees and the first steps have been taken to implement this.

The posts of Social Psychologist and Agricultural Economist were advertised and, after interviews at the Inter-University Council, candidates were chosen to fill both posts. It proved impossible to obtain a psychologist already experienced in the chosen field, so it was decided to award a bursary to Mr. A. D. Jones to enable him to work at the London School of Economics for six months under Dr. H. Himmelweit. He is due to arrive in Rhodesia in April 1961. The Agricultural Economist failed to take up his appointment so the post is again out for advertisement, as also is that of Sociographer or Urban Sociologist.

Another facet of the future programme is, one hopes, settled in that Professor Colson and Dr. Scudder will return to undertake Phase II of the Kariba enquiry described above, in October 1962.

The Northern Rhodesia Government has formulated comprehensive plans for detailed survey work in the Kafue River Basin, setting aside £204,000 for the work and applying to the United Nations Special Fund for a similar sum. The Institute was asked to formulate plans for research into the human aspects of the problem and submitted a scheme, incorporated into the overall plan, extending over three years and costing £42,000. At the time of writing it is uncertain whether funds will be forthcoming for sociological work from the United Nations Special Fund but all concerned appear convinced of the necessity of attention being paid to the social as well as to the physical aspects of the development in the area concerned. Professor Steel of Liverpool, a consultant of the Institute, has taken a special interest in the formulation of these plans.

In the field of criminology and delinquency, Professor Radzinowicz of Cambridge was consulted and expressed keen interest in the Institute's proposals in this field. He can be relied on for advice and guidance when this part of the programme is ready for implementation.

## Public Relations

*Local*

The steadily rising membership reveals the increased interest in the Institute shown by the public of Northern Rhodesia. The published works of past and present members of staff reviewed in the local press, talks to clubs and societies, broadcasts, evening seminars and conferences have all helped to make the Institute's work better known and appreciated throughout Central Africa. A picture poster prepared by the Northern Rhodesia Information Office, directed to the literate African and distributed throughout all three territories, has made our existence more widely known in the rural areas. It is a source of gratification that our workers are so well received wherever they go: only in cases of acute political tension has research work been handicapped through lack of co-operation from the African. One reason for this greater knowledge of the Institute is the broad spread of our work through the three territories of Central Africa, where our workers have been in contact with the local population from the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia to Salisbury in the south and Blantyre/Limbe in the east.

*Overseas*

Rising overseas membership, queries on specific topics, and enquiries concerning affiliation all testify to increasing interest in the Institute. In the period under review, the Director paid three visits

to Europe, visiting London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool and Edinburgh in connexion with Institute matters and had discussions with colleagues at Brazzaville, Ibadan and Jos in West Africa, at Stresa in Italy, at Makerere and Nairobi in East Africa, and at Johannesburg in South Africa.

It will be seen below that a number of the Institute's Research Officers have attended conferences in numerous places and on diverse subjects, thus ensuring the stimulation which comes from the exchange of ideas with colleagues working in the same fields.

*Visitors*

The number of visitors to the Institute rose sharply at the commencement of the period and thereafter settled down to the region of 400 per year. It is gratifying to note how modern transport—and frequently the generosity of Foundations—has enabled areas such as Central Africa, previously suffering from academic isolation, to be brought into touch with the outside world.

*Institute Conferences*

It proved possible to organize five Conferences in the four-year period 1956–60. The first, the tenth of the series, was confined mainly to Institute workers sharing their experiences in the field with their colleagues. The 11th Conference, also at Lusaka, dealt with the inter-relations between rural and urban life in Central Africa. Visitors to this included Professor J. J. Maquet from the University of Elizabethville, Professor J. Irving from Rhodes University, Grahamstown, and Professor J. C. Mitchell from the University College at Salisbury.

The 12th Conference was held in Bulawayo at the invitation of the City Council, in October 1958. The subject chosen was social relations in Central African industry, the idea being to pave the way for the work of the newly established Industrial Section. It was unfortunate that early the following year this aspect of our work had to be abandoned.

For the 13th Conference, in February 1959, we were back in Lusaka discussing the adaptation of indigenous political systems to modern conditions. The papers read by professional administrators, as well as those by anthropologists and sociologists, stimulated considerable discussion; one senior official from a neighbouring territory wrote that he found the Conference ' most enlightening, full of interest and certainly guaranteed to induce reflection on many administrative problems '.

For the 14th Conference, also at the Institute, from the 25th–28th February 1960, the subject chosen was ' Myth in Modern Africa '. Our guest speaker was Professor Monica Wilson from Cape Town University, whilst an outstanding contribution came from M. d'Hertefelt of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, Astrida, Ruanda.

Since the 11th Conference, the proceedings have been published in a more formal manner than heretofore and have proved popular sellers. They are listed in Appendix A.

*University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*

Relations with the College remained close throughout the period. As recorded above, a College representative was brought on to the Board of Trustees in 1956, whilst two College members serve on the Research Committee, one as Chairman. The Director attended the College Social Science Research Committee Meetings and was invited to attend the Adult Education Conference in 1958, whilst he and Dr. Bettison were invited to address the Management Courses in December 1958. The Institute's 13th Conference was opened by the Principal, Dr. Adams, and as in the case of all other Conferences, attended by a number of Faculty members.

The relationship between the College and the Institute at the time of writing, December 1960, is reported on in the concluding section of this paper.

*Conferences Attended*

Throughout the period both the Director and senior staff attended numerous conferences both local and overseas, representing either the Institute, the Northern Rhodesia Government or the Federal Government. Rather than burden this report with a detailed list of these, it has been relegated to Appendix B, reference to which shows the extent of the stimulus which was received from the discussion of a very wide range of subjects, extending from pre-history to African urbanization and housing problems.

*Courses and Seminars*

Throughout the period, a number of courses visited the Institute, of which the most outstanding was the United States State Department African Field Seminar in 1958. This group of diplomats was addressed by the Governor, numerous members of the Government and by the Institute's staff. From local sources, seldom a month passed without a visit by a course, frequently a mixed group of Europeans and Africans either from the Native Authority Development Centre at Chalimbana, the Police school at Lilayi or a group of mine employees or civil servants.

In 1959, the Northern Rhodesia Society, based at Livingstone, inaugurated a Lusaka Section and made the Institute its headquarters. Lusaka members of the Society are invited to evening lectures and seminars on the same basis as our associate members for whom we endeavour to arrange a meeting once a month. The subjects of such meetings have ranged widely, through the Southern Rhodesia Land Husbandry Act, University Development in the Congo, National Monuments in Northern Rhodesia, Political

Science and Partnership, Some Impressions of Nigeria, and Crime in Northern Rhodesia.

*Affiliates*

One of the services which a Research Institute in Africa can offer is that of acting as a focus for visiting social scientists; at the same time it can render assistance in the formulation of the research projects of such visitors, thus ensuring that their work conforms to the generally accepted pattern and does not clash with work in progress or projected.

Just how well our visitors have keyed in with the research programme has been shown above in the section on research, where their work is discussed side by side with that of the Institute's own staff. As was explained in that section, the terms of affiliation ranged from agreements of an informal nature to a formal association whereby an affiliate was required to pay a fee of £25 per year: in some cases the fee was waived and where the grant of the sponsoring institution was deemed insufficient, additional funds were made available from Institute sources.

A study of the table of affiliates, Appendix C, shows that these numbered fifteen during the period under report. Their periods of study ranged from one to twenty-one months, with an average of about ten months. Their subjects of study had an equally wide range, from the socio-economics of the Kafue fishing industry to the Asian communities of Central Africa.

## The Sir Gilbert Rennie Library

Our object in building up a good library in the social sciences is not only to provide a working tool for our own research workers, but equally to make available for associate members material on any subject in the field of sociology in which they may be interested.

Associate membership confers not only the privilege of borrowing from the library, by post if need be, but also that of receiving the Institute's regular publications—Journals, Papers and Communications. The task of promoting membership is not an easy one, but, as a result of sustained effort, paying membership has continued to rise. As will be seen from the following table, we have a number of honorary members, for example, Trustees, whilst the category of official membership covers the circularization of our publications to an approved list of officials in the governments which subscribe to our activities. It will be noted that during the period under review, the official membership was reduced by nearly half, standing at 197 at 31st March 1960. This necessary measure of economy was offset by a rise in paying membership which doubled during the period to a total of 333. From April to November 1960, a further 68 paying members had been recruited, but this gain was more apparent than real, as a review of the membership list revealed that

a number had defaulted on their subscriptions and were thus wrongly retained on the list.

| | *At 1.4.56* | *Gains and Losses 1956–60* | *As at 31.3.60* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Honorary | 27 | + 6 | 33 |
| Official | 339 | − 142 | 197 |
| Exchange | 78 | + 22 | 100 |
| Paying | 171 | + 162 | 333 |
| | 615 | + 190<br>− 142 | 663 |
| | | Net gain 48 | |

Our members are widely scattered; as at 31st March 1960, 217 were in Northern Rhodesia, 232 in the rest of Africa, 102 in Europe, 75 in the U.S.A., 5 in Canada, 6 in Asia and 4 in Australia. Both associate members and staff are making increased use of the facilities available. In 1959–60 ninety-one parcels of books were despatched by post, representing 176 volumes, whilst 728 books were borrowed locally. This indicates that the number of borrowers had almost doubled since 1955–6 when figures were last published in the Annual Report. Records of borrowers and readers—as distinct from other visitors—are now maintained and show that an average of 30 people per month came to the Institute for such purpose over the last eight months; insignificant figures perhaps, but considering the isolated situation of the Institute, enough to show that our existence is becoming increasingly known and appreciated.

The Library has continued to expand steadily. In 1959–60, 600 books and pamphlets have been added; 800 were added in the previous year, but 350 of these were a special gift from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and 60 were given by the Information Department of the American Consulate General in Salisbury. We have continued to receive gifts from this Consulate from time to time, as also from the German Consulate in Salisbury.

The additions mentioned above do not include the annual reports and other publications of Government Departments in Central and East African territories; these have continued to augment the library stock in even greater numbers than before. A further source of supply has been the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, of which $500 was allocated to the Library over a period of three years expiring in June 1961. Under this scheme, books are ordered from America and paid for by the Foundation; we have thus acquired a number of valuable recent works dealing with sociology and allied subjects.

200 periodicals are now taken in the Library. The language section of the Library has also continued to expand, since, besides receiving numerous newspapers and newsletters in the various vernaculars of Central Africa, it has continued to absorb a steady stream of all the vernacular publications issued by the Publications Bureau of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

All these acquisitions are putting heavy pressure on existing library space; in spite of constant readjustment—the introduction of new stacks, the partitioning of existing rooms, and the use of corridors for storing newspapers—by the end of the current period the library was full to bursting point. It is essential that the earliest consideration be given to the plans for expansion already formulated, to ensure that the best library of its kind in Central Africa does not lose much of its utility through overcrowding, just at the moment when, in addition to the Institute's own staff, the public are making much greater use of the facilities provided by visiting both to borrow and read.

## Publications

One of the major activities of the Institute is in the field of publication, for it is obviously profitless to conduct research without making the results known to those likely to benefit from them—fellow workers in the social sciences, administrators, social workers and the general reader.

In the previous period, the Institute changed its publisher from the Oxford University Press to the Manchester University Press. In the four years under report, seven full length books and one reprint were issued. These, with four earlier works and one published at the time of writing, December 1960, bring the total of full-length books up to the round dozen.

In addition, Dr. Scudder's work is in the hands of the printer, Dr. Van Velsen's is promised by the end of the year, whilst works are expected from Professor Mitchell and Dr. Bettison in the not too distant future.

The Institute's series of Papers is designed to cover works not quite long enough to make a book but too long for an article in the Journal. We entered the period with the Paper series standing at No. 24 and by 1960 had brought the total up to No. 30.

The Journal continued its half yearly publication including articles arising from the researches of past and present members of the Institute staff, as well as articles from other workers in parallel fields particularly relevant to the Central African situation. This series had reached No. 26 in December 1959 whilst No. 27 has been published and No. 28 passed for press at the time of writing.

The Institute's Communication series is designed with two objects in view. First to ensure that interim reports from the Institute's own workers are not delayed to the extent they would be if produced

as books or papers. At the same time it ensures that work of a specialized nature submitted by local non-Institute workers is made available to those interested. Previously roneoed on foolscap, this series is now published on quarto with printed covers. Recently an average of 4 per year were published; the period saw a rise from No. 7 to No. 18.

The final type of publication is the Conference Proceedings, mentioned earlier. With adequate preliminary organization a balance can be struck between illustrative case studies and theoretical discussion so that a reasonably balanced work can be produced.

In the course of the period under review, the financing of the publications was rationalized by the establishment of a revolving fund to which was contributed £2,000 from C.D. & W. and a similar amount from Institute funds. In addition to sales and to 75 per cent of membership fees, a 10 per cent surcharge is made on all current research projects; this sum is paid annually into the revolving fund and so ensures that at the conclusion of the work, adequate funds will be available for the publication of results. At the conclusion of the period, the fund stood at £5,497 with sales bringing in over £2,000 per year.

## Conclusion

The Institute's declared aims are to analyse scientifically the social life of modern man, indigenous and immigrant, in Central Africa, to provide accurate knowledge to those engaged in administration and social work and to disseminate accurate information as widely as possible to the public.

How far have these aims been achieved? The period under review marks a widening in the scope of the Institute's research work: for the first time the social problems of the European and Asian communities have been made the subject of research. In the African field, with a sound background of tribal studies built up over the years, more attention was paid to specialized subjects such as rural economics, indigenous political institutions, settlement patterns and so on.

The period was notable for the fact that increasing demands were made by Government departments and other administering bodies for the services of the Institute. Had the staff position permitted it, it would have been possible within the limits of existing finance and facilities, to meet these demands at the same time as pursuing the original programme of fundamental research. In the event, in spite of the considerable output of work reported above, lack of staff rendered impossible the achievement of all that had been planned and hoped for, with a result that the period ended with a considerable balance of unspent funds.

There are two obvious phases in the process of social research,

the first being discovery and the second publication. But there is also a third and less obvious phase—the creation of a receptive climate wherein the published results of research will prove acceptable and so used as a basis for decision in social or political matters. In attempting to create this receptive climate, a conscious effort has been made to elicit the interest and support in the Institute's work not only of the official and non-official European, but equally of the African who is learning to share in the control of his own destiny and that of the other races who have made their home in this country.

One major event of the period was the development of the University College at Salisbury, with a previous Director of the Institute, Professor Mitchell, as head of the Department of African studies. Co-ordination of the work of the College and the Institute was sought initially by appointing a representative of the College to the Board of Trustees and also to the Institute's Research Committee, while the Director accepted membership of the College's Social Science Research Council. The possibility of even closer relationship had been considered in 1956, but no action was then taken as it was felt wiser to wait until the College was firmly established. In June 1959, the Trustees considered the position and agreed that the Vice-President should approach the College authorities informally on the question. Following this approach the College set up a sub-committee of the Academic Board to consider relationships between the two institutions. In October 1959, another meeting of Trustees was called and decided to set up a sub-committee corresponding to that established by the Academic Board of the College. After both separate and joint meetings, the sub-committees reported back, and, after meetings of the College Council and of the Institute's Board of Trustees in October 1960, it was announced that agreement in principle had been reached between the College Council and the Trustees that the Institute should be incorporated into the College and that if the matter were finalized the College should undertake responsibility for the running of the Institute as early as possible in 1961.

The writer of this Report requested that Trustees should release him from his contract which still had a year or more to run; this they did on terms satisfactory to all parties and the Director departed for East Africa in December 1960, handing over to Mr. C. M. N. White as Acting Director pending the ratification of the incorporation by the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. Once the assent of the legislature has been received it will be possible for the College to proceed to the appointment of a new Director.

The Institute is now entering its third phase of development—after ten years of co-existence with its sister institution, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, and a further thirteen years as an independent body, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is to be incorporated into the University College at Salisbury. It has been agreed, however,

that it shall remain in Lusaka and retain its name—with the possible addition of 'Economic' to 'Social Research'.

This report, then, is not only the last of the present Director but the last of the present regime. On such an occasion one's earnest hope is that the traditions of the past may form a firm jumping-off point into the future, that the shortcomings of the past may be rectified in the future, and that the changed basis of recruitment, fund-raising and administration may facilitate the continuation and expansion of social research for the benefit of all peoples in Central Africa.

## Appendix A

### *Publications*

Works published by the Institute or its officers, past and present, during the period 1st April 1956–31st December 1960. Books, Papers and Journals are published by Manchester University Press for the Institute. Communications and Conference Reports are published by the Institute.

### *FULL-LENGTH BOOKS*

Colson, Elizabeth, 1958. *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.*

—— 1960. *Human Problems of Kariba, vol. I. Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga.*

Cunnison, Ian G., 1960. *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia: custom and history in tribal politics.*

Epstein, A. L., 1958. *Politics in an Urban African Community.*

Gann, L. H., 1958. *The Birth of a Plural Society, the development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894–1914.*

Mitchell, J. Clyde, 1956. *The Yao Village, a Study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe.*

Turner, V. W., 1957. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: a Study of Ndembu Village life.*

Watson, W., 1959. *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy: a Study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia.*

### *THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE PAPERS*

Gluckman, M., 1958. *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand.* Paper No. 28.

Hughes, A. J. B., 1956. *Kin, Caste and Nation among the Rhodesian Ndebele.* Paper No. 25.

McCulloch, Merran, 1956. *A Social Survey of the African Population of Livingstone.* Paper No. 26.

Mitchell, J. Clyde, 1956. *The Kalela Dance. Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia.* Paper No. 27.

Turner, V. W., 1961. *Ndembu Divination: Its Symbolism and Techniques.* Paper No. 31.

White, C. M. N., 1959. *A Preliminary Survey of Luvale Rural Economy.* Paper No. 29.

—— 1960. *An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization.* Paper No. 30.

*THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE JOURNALS*

Numbers XX–XXVIII, containing the following articles by Institute staff and affiliates past and present:

APTHORPE, R. J. 'Problems of African Political History: the Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia.' No. XXVIII, December 1960, pp. 47–67.

BETTISON, D. G. 'The Poverty Datum Line in Central Africa', with a Foreword by H. A. Fosbrooke. No. XXVII, June 1960, pp. 1–40.

—— 'Factors in the Determination of Wage Rates in Central Africa', with a Foreword by H. A. Fosbrooke. No. XXVIII, December 1960, pp. 22–46.

COLSON, ELIZABETH. 'Plateau Tonga Diet.' No. XXIV, December 1958, pp. 51–67.

CUNNISON, IAN G. 'Perpetual Kinship: A Political Institution of the Luapula Peoples.' No. XX, 1956, pp. 28–48.

FLOYD, BARRIE N. 'Changing Patterns of African Land Use in Southern Rhodesia.' No. XXV, March 1959, pp. 20–39.

FOSBROOKE, H. A. 'History of Research Scheme R. 370.' No. XXIII, June 1958, pp. 1–11.

—— 'Tanganyika's Population Problem; an historical explanation.' No. XXIII, June 1958, pp. 54–58.

GANN, L. H. 'Archives and the Study of Society.' No. XX, 1956, pp. 49–67.

—— 'The "Northern Rhodesia Journal" as an historical source book.' No. XXIII, June 1958, pp. 47–53.

—— 'Liberal Interpretations of South African History: a review article.' No. XXV, March 1959, pp. 40–58.

GLUCKMAN, MAX. 'Social Anthropology in Central Africa.' No. XX, 1956, pp. 1–27.

MIRACLE, M. P. 'Plateau Tonga Entrepreneurs in Historical Inter-Regional Trade.' No. XXVI, December 1959, pp. 34–50.

MITCHELL, J. CLYDE. 'Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.' No. XXII, September 1957, pp. 1–30.

NYIRENDA, A. A. 'African Market Vendors in Lusaka: with a note on the recent boycott.' No. XXII, September 1957, pp. 31–63.

SCUDDER, THAYER. 'Fishermen of the Zambezi.' No. XXVII, June 1960, pp. 41–9.

TUDEN, A. 'Ila Slavery.' No. XXIV, 1958, pp. 68–78.

VAN VELSEN, J. 'The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.' No. XXVI, December 1959, pp. 1–22.

*RHODES-LIVINGSTONE COMMUNICATIONS*

BETTISON, D. G., 1958. *Cash Wage and Occupational Structure in Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, No. 9, pp. 18.

—— 1958. *The Demographic Structure of Seventeen Villages in the Peri-Urban Area of Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, No. 11, pp. 93.

—— *The Social and Economic Structure of Seventeen Villages, Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, No. 12, pp. iii, 95.

—— 1959. *Numerical Data on African Dwellers in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia*, No. 16, pp. xxv, 118.

CLIFFORD, W., 1960 *Crime in Northern Rhodesia*, No. 18, pp. ii, 130.

FORTUNE, G., S.J., 1959. *The Bantu Languages of the Federation: A Preliminary Survey*, No. 14, pp. i, 59.

KAY, GEORGE, 1960. *A Social and Economic Study of Fort Rosebery: Part I—The Township; Part II—The Peri-Urban Area*, No. 21, pp. vi, 55; vi, 75 with tables, maps and figures.

MWEWA, P. B., 1958. *The African Railway Workers' Union Ndola, Northern Rhodesia*, No. 10, pp. 16.

NG'OMBE, R. M. S., 1958. *A Select Social Science Bibliography of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, No. 7, pp. 68.

NYIRENDA, A. A., NG'WANE, H. D., and BETTISON, D. G., 1959. *Further Economic and Social Studies, Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, No. 17, pp. 49.

PETERS, DAVID U., 1960. *Land Usage in Barotseland*, No. 19, pp. xiv, 60.

PHILLIPS, C. M., and SYMON, S. A., 1959. *Blindness in the Kawambwa District, Northern Rhodesia* and *African Medicine in the Mankoya District, Northern Rhodesia*, No. 15, pp. viii, 77.

RICHARDSON, E. M., 1959. *Aushi Village Structure in the Fort Rosebery District of Northern Rhodesia*, No. 13, pp. i, 36.

THOMAS, F. M., 1958. *Historical Notes on the Bisa Tribe of Northern Rhodesia*, No. 8, pp. 52.

## *RHODES-LIVINGSTONE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS*

Proceedings of the Eleventh-Fourteenth Conferences were issued during the period, containing contributions by past and present members of the staff and affiliates as under:

11th CONFERENCE. 14th–17th January 1958: *Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban Life.*

APTHORPE, R. J. 'The Interrelation of rural and urban social structures: an hypothesis', pp. 149–159a.

BETTISON, D. G. 'Migrancy and Social Structure in peri-urban communities in Nyasaland', pp. 24–39.

FOSBROOKE, H. A. 'Can labour be stabilized without permanent urbanization and concomitant social measures?', pp. 88–93.

—— with ARGYLE, W. J. 'Rural Development as a Corrective to Excessive Migration to the Town', pp. 40–52.

MITCHELL, J. C. 'Factors Motivating Migration from Rural Areas', pp. 12–23.

—— 'Types of urban social relationships', pp. 84–7.

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FOSBROOKE, H. A. ' Introducing the Theme of the Conference ', pp. iv–viii.
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## CONFERENCES ATTENDED APRIL 1956–DECEMBER 1960

| *Conference* | *Place* | *Year* | *Representing* | *Title of Paper Read* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | H. A. Fosbrooke, Director | | | |
| Colonial Office Conference on Land Tenure | Arusha, Tanganyika | 1956 | N.R.G. | |
| Eighth Colonial Office Summer Conference, on the Place of Chiefs in African Administration | King's College, Cambridge | 1957 | R.L.I. | |
| N.R.C.S.S. Annual Conference | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1957 | Personal | Chairman's Report |
| Conference on the Treatment of Alcoholism | Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia | 1957 | R.L.I. | |
| Colonial Office Conference on Urbanization | Ndola, Northern Rhodesia | 1958 | R.L.I. | |
| C.C.T.A. Conference on Rural Welfare | Tananarive, Madagascar | 1958 | N.R.G. | |
| N.R.C.S.S. Annual Conference | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1958 | Personal | Chairman's Report |
| Conference on Adult Education | University College, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1958 | R.L.I. | |
| Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia: Conference at Mindolo Ecumenical Centre | Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia | 1958 | R.L.I. | Social Security: What is the problem in Central Africa and what part can the Church play in meeting it |
| 2nd Study Conference of the United Northern Rhodesia Association | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1958 | Personal | The Effects of Economic Change on African Society |
| Inter African Labour Institute, Meeting on Absenteeism and Labour Turnover | Brazzaville, Congo Republic | 1959 | Federal Government | |
| Tenth Colonial Office Summer Conference, on Rural Economic Development | King's College, Cambridge | 1959 | R.L.I. | |
| 4th World Congress on Sociology | Stresa, Italy | 1959 | R.L.I. | |
| N.R.C.S.S. Annual Conference | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1959 | Personal | |
| Nyasaland Council of Social Services | Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland | 1959 | N.R.C.S.S. | The Establishment of a Council of Social Services in Central Africa |
| Inter African Labour Institute meeting on Absenteeism and Labour Turnover | Paris, France | 1960 | Federal Government | |
| Institute of Administration of Non-European Affairs | Livingstone, N. Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | |
| Natural Resources Board, Annual Conference of I.C.A. Committees | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1960 | Personal | Report of Chairman of Education Committee |

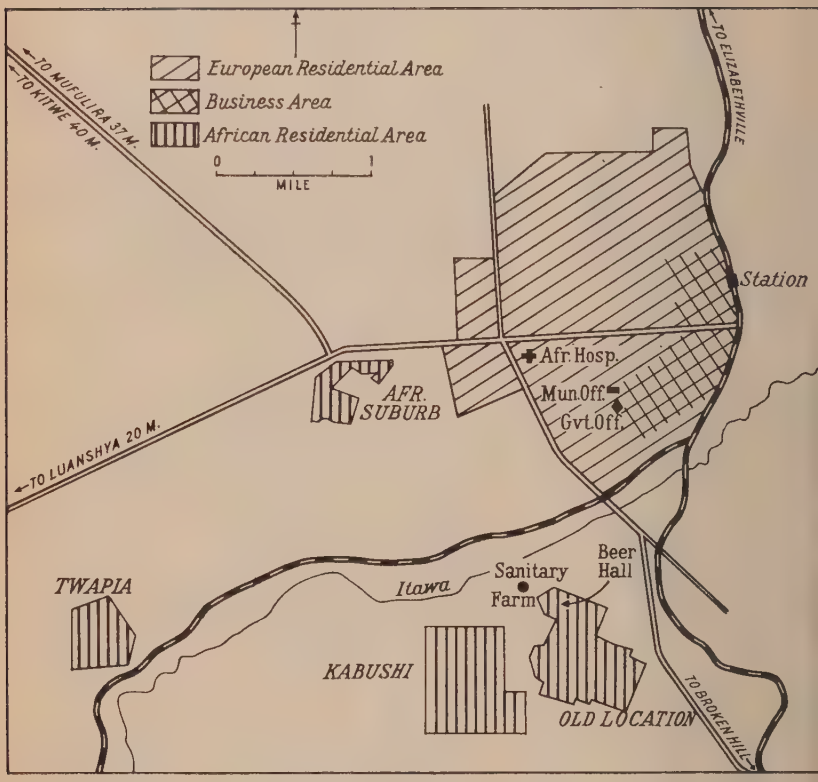
APPENDIX B—*contd.*

| *Conference* | *Place* | *Year* | *Representing* | *Title of Paper Read* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Federal Science Congress | Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | African Agricultural Adaptability |
| Leverhulme History Conference | University College, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | Richard Thornton in East Africa |
| | D. G. BETTISON, SENIOR RESEARCH OFFICER | | | |
| N.R.C.S.S. Annual Conference | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1957 | Personal | |
| Colonial Office Conference | Ndola, Northern Rhodesia | 1958 | N.R.G. | |
| C.C.T.A. Conference on Urbanization and Housing | Nairobi, Kenya | 1959 | Federal Government | An attempt to assess and evaluate the attitude of the African to Houses and Housing |
| International African Institute Seminar | Kampala, Uganda | 1959 | by Invitation | |
| | R. J. APTHORPE, RESEARCH OFFICER | | | |
| Anthropological Seminar | University College, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1959 | R.L.I. | |
| 1st Federal Science Congress | Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | Problems of tribal political history: the Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia |
| 11th Cambridge Summer Conference | King's College, Cambridge | 1960 | R.L.I. | |
| | J. W. ARGYLE, RESEARCH OFFICER | | | |
| Institute of Anthropological Congress | Paris, France | 1960 | R.L.I. | |
| | P. J. M. MCEWAN, RESEARCH OFFICER | | | |
| 1st Federal Science Congress | Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | The Relation of knowledge to action in the social sciences |
| | A. A. DUBB, RESEARCH OFFICER | | | |
| 1st Federal Science Congress | Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | R.L.I. | |
| N.R.C.S.S. Annual Conference | Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia | 1960 | Personal | |
| 3rd I.A.I. Seminar on African Religion | Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia | 1960 | Observer | |

APPENDIX C

## *RHODES-LIVINGSTONE AFFILIATE WORKERS 1956–1960*

| *Name* | *University* | *Sponsored by* | *Affiliate Status* | *Subject* | *Period* | *Months* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dr. W. B. Schwab | Temple, Philadelphia | | Informal | Problems of Urbanization, Gwelo, S. Rhodesia | 1955/6 | 9 |
| A. Tuden | Princeton | Ford Foundation | Informal | Tribal Study of the Ila | April '56–April '57 | 12 |
| Prof. J. Coleman | California | | Informal | African Leadership in the Urban Setting | Jan. '57–Apr. '57 | 4 |
| Dr. I. A. Richards | Cambridge | Leverhulme | Informal | Bemba Revisited | June '57–Oct. '57 | 3 |
| Dr. B. Floyd | Syracuse, Troy N.Y. | Self | Assisted | Implementation of S.R. Land Husbandry Act | Sept. '57–Nov. '58 | 14 |
| Dr. & Mme. P. Roumeguere | Sorbonne | Inter. Af. Inst. | Assisted | The Kalanga of Southern Rhodesia | Sept. '58–Aug. '59 | 12 |
| R. Rotberg | Oxford | Rhodes Scholar, and Rockefeller Foundation | Assisted | Influence of Missions on Northern Rhodesia Development to 1924 | Jan. '59–Dec. '59 | 12 |
| Mrs. H. Carter | London S.O.A.S. | C.S.S.R.C. | Informal | Valley Tonga Language | Res. of N. Rhodesia | 12 |
| R. Sutcliffe | Oxford | Voluntary Service Overseas | Assistant Research | General | Nov. '58–Sept. '59 | 9 |
| P. Stutley | Reading | District Officer Basutoland | Assisted | Systems of Marketing African Produce | Mar. '59–Apr. '59 | 1 |
| Dr. M. Cole | North Staffs. | Self | Fee-paying | Study of Savannah Environment | June '59–Sept. '59 | 4 |
| C. LaMuniere | Harvard | Ford Foundation | Fee-paying | Socio-economic of Kafue Fishing | June '59– | |
| Prof. F. Dotson | Connecticut | Fullbright | Fee-paying | Asian Communities in Central Africa | Sept. '59–June '61 | 21 |
| Dr. I. Richardson | London, S.O.A.S. | S.O.A.S. | Informal | Bemba Language | Sept. '59–Aug. '60 | 12 |
| M. Miracle | Food Research Inst. Stanford, California | Ford Foundation | Informal | Study of Maize | June '59–Dec. '59 | 6 |


European Residential Area
Business Area
African Residential Area
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1
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TO MUFULIRA 37 M.
TO KITWE 40 M.
TO ELIZABETHVILLE
Station
Afr. Hosp.
Mun. Off.
Gvt. Off.
AFR. SUBURB
TO LUANSHYA 20 M.
TWAPIA
Itawa
Sanitary Farm
Beer Hall
KABUSHI
OLD LOCATION
TO BROKEN HILL

MAP OF NDOLA

# THE NETWORK AND URBAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by

A. L. EPSTEIN

## I

IN any social field much of the raw data of observation relates to behaviour that in itself is random or haphazard: the order imposed upon the material is achieved only after patient sifting and analysis on the part of the observer. Over the years social anthropologists have been able to develop concepts and other tools of research for isolating and examining the social regularities in pre-industrial communities. In this field they have in fact made considerable advances, though it might be said, in very general terms, that their task has been eased by the nature of pre-industrial society itself. When we turn to anthropological studies of modern urban communities a very different picture obtains. To say that custom is king may be a misleading characterization of primitive society, but in no circumstances at all could it conceivably be applied, say, to the urban communities now rapidly emerging all over Africa. Here the dominant characteristics—high population density, ethnic heterogeneity, increasing social and economic differentiation and a high degree of occupational and residential mobility—are more likely to foster the impression of a society inchoate and incoherent, where the haphazard is more conspicuous than the regular, and all is in a state of flux. It is not surprising then that in this field of study there is as yet little consensus amongst anthropologists on aims and methods, and that we should still be at the beginning of our quest.

The general problem I am raising emerges most strikingly in a town like Ndola.[1] Ndola began as a small administrative post, railway junction and trading settlement. It has not yet come to

[1] This material was collected in 1955 6 during a year's field-work in Ndola when I was a Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. I also spent some six months there in 1950 when I was engaged in a study of African Urban Courts for the Colonial Social Science Research Council. The preliminary analysis of the material was made possible by the award of a Simon Research Fellowship in the University of Manchester, to whose Committee I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks. For assistance with the map I wish to thank Dr. H. Brookfield and Mr. H. Gunther, of the Department of Geography, Australian National University. I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Department of Anthropology, Australian National University, in particular Professor J. A. Barnes and Dr. Derek Freeman, for some valuable comments, though the argument and its presentation are of course my own responsibility.

develop any major industry, and still possesses no single large-scale employers of labour such as are found in the neighbouring mine townships of the Copperbelt. Ndola's recent expansion has rested therefore in its ability to develop its original specialized functions and provide administrative, commercial, and transport and communications services for the Copperbelt as a whole. As an administrative centre Ndola serves as the headquarters of the Western Province, which embraces the whole of the Copperbelt as well as considerable areas of the rural hinterland. In virtue of its situation Ndola also provides the vital road and railway link between the towns of the Copperbelt, as well as the Belgian Congo, and the south. As a communications centre of increasing importance it has become the main depot of various bus companies and haulage contractors: garages, motor-repair shops and body-builders abound. Again, the goods-yard established to handle the heavy traffic in freight provided the facilities which have encouraged the emergence of Ndola as an important wholesale and distributing centre. Firms of importers have their warehouses, and other business concerns of many kinds have offices or agencies in the town. Ndola has become a rendezvous of commercial travellers who use the town, which now possesses a fair number of hotels[1] and guest-houses, as a base from which they can cover the Copperbelt. Thus Ndola reveals a greater diversification than other Copperbelt towns, and this process has been intensified in the rapid growth of the town in the post-war years, when the European population increased about sevenfold in the course of a decade.

But the general condition of flux associated with rapid growth and diversification is exhibited perhaps most markedly amongst the African inhabitants of the town. All told there are probably about 50,000 Africans living in Ndola today. Some—still a very small proportion—were born and brought up there; others have been continuously resident for the past fifteen or more years; but the great majority are newcomers who have come to live in Ndola within the last five years. They have come from other towns, and from the many tribal areas of Northern Rhodesia as well as from the neighbouring territories of Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo. Ethnically mixed, the African population also shows a concomitant diversity of culture which is expressed in the wide range of languages spoken, in the distinctive and sometimes exotic modes of dress of different tribal groups, and in differences in manner and behaviour. Ndola's African population is not only mixed, it is also highly mobile. There is a constant coming and going of people. Individuals move from one part of the town to another. This continuous circulation of people within the town is partly accounted for by various legal provisions which place the responsibility for housing Africans in the town on the employer and tie housing to the job:

[1] The first African hotel in the Territory was opened officially in the Ndola Municipal Location towards the end of 1955.

when an African gives up or loses his job he also loses his house, and has to move elsewhere. But the growth of the town itself also exacerbates the tendency towards circulation, for as new housing areas are established new residents move in from the older parts of the location, and their vacated houses are taken over by those coming from parts of the location marked down for demolition. Then, again, people leave and go to other towns or return to their villages in the reserves, while all the time yet others are moving in at such a rate that the number of Africans in the town has doubled itself in the space of only a few years. In these respects of course Ndola does not differ greatly from the other towns of the Copperbelt. What distinguishes Ndola is the obvious absence of any single large-scale organization that would provide a common framework of behaviour for a substantial proportion of its inhabitants in the way that a mine administration tends to structure the social life of Africans in a mine compound. In my study of Luanshya I used the term 'atomistic' to contrast the fluidity of the Municipal location with the 'unitary' structure of the mine compound. For detailed discussion of this see Epstein (1958). There is perhaps even stronger justification for applying the same term to Ndola.

Yet despite the apparent confusion of the urban scene, it is equally patent that the Africans who live in Ndola do not compose a mere aggregation of individuals nor a disorganized rabble. As a town Ndola exists to serve certain specialized functions, and complex economic and administrative institutions have been built up which ensure that the tasks necessary to these functions are, in the main, effectively carried out. Thus economic and administrative organization introduce at least a minimum of social order. It also becomes apparent that within this framework the Africans have elaborated a complex system of organizing social relationships among themselves. One of the most striking ways in which this organization manifests itself is, despite the continuous coming and going of people, the apparent ease with which strangers to the town are able to discover their friends and kinsfolk or husband and wives to trace their deserting spouses. The fact is that each individual African is involved in a network of social ties (see Barnes, 1954, and Bott, 1957) which ramify throughout the urban community and extend to other towns and to the tribal areas. The immediate aim of this paper is to demonstrate the importance of the network in urban social organization, and to indicate some of its characteristics and functions.

The procedure I propose to adopt is to set out *in extenso* and without comment an account based on a number of texts prepared for me by an African which records his movements around the town and the contacts he made with various people in the course of a number of days. This method may be considered to impose a heavy burden on the reader, and some may object to it on other grounds too. My justification for following this course is that in

the first place it illustrates vividly the random or haphazard character of much of urban social life. However, I am not primarily concerned with the texts merely as illustrative material; rather I take the behaviour they describe as the unit of analysis through which I seek to establish other sets of regularities present in urban life. In this respect the present paper looks towards the development of a methodology or systematic approach to the anthropological study of urban communities. The detailed evidence of the narrative which follows puts the reader in a position to check my own analysis and, where this is inadequate, to suggest alternative and more satisfactory interpretations of the material.

## II

It was shortly after noon when Chanda[1] left off work. He decided to do a little shopping in town before returning to his house in Kabushi Suburb. On the way to town, and just by the African Hospital, he met a woman who had just arrived in Ndola on the bus from Fort Rosebery. She was of his own tribe, a Lunda of Kazembe, and he greeted her. At first she did not recognize him, for it was a long time since they had last met when Chanda was on a short visit to his rural home. He introduced himself as ShiChomba, father of Chomba, and said that he was the former husband of Agnes K of Mulundu. At length the woman realized who he was and apologized for having forgotten him. ' Now I remember you well,' she said, ' because your daughter resembles you so much.'

After some further conversation, in which they exchanged news of friends and acquaintances, Chanda bade the woman farewell and set off again on his bicycle. Near the Government Offices (the ' Boma ') he ran into his friend Thompson. Thompson was employed by the Municipality as an African Health Assistant. He was one of a small group of African assistants whose duty it was to maintain regular inspection of the location and ensure that people there adhered to the standards of hygiene laid down by the European authorities. Thompson at this time was having an extra-marital affair with a girl called Paula who was Chanda's classificatory sister. As they greeted one another a co-worker of Thompson called out from behind to ask if he were going home, but Thompson replied that he had met his ' brother-in-law ' who would persuade his girl-friend to be nice to him. ' You have to keep in with your brother-in-law if you are to have a good " friend ",' he added. Thompson accompanied Chanda to a store where the latter bought a broom, and then they rode off together in the direction of the location.

[1] I acknowledge here my thanks to my informant for his assistance, even though I find it necessary to refer to him by a pseudonym. To help the reader I have given all the other characters who appear in Chanda's account common English names.

At one of the main road junctions they found many African cyclists heading for the location. They had just knocked off and were rushing for lunch. Thompson remarked: ' Mulamo, better get off the road with these people riding crazily like this. You know, Mulamo, they are running for lunch and then come back very soon. Some are allowed only thirty minutes and will be back at two o'clock—but people like ourselves, we get home without having to sweat. Then we have a wash and rest awhile before eating—but not they. They will just eat quickly as soon as they arrive, and I am afraid that some won't even find their wives at home. This time women like going out for charcoal and firewood in the bush. These poor fellows sweat very much. . . . There are some who don't even get home for lunch. They leave their houses very early at 5.30 in the morning and don't see their wives and children again until late in the evening. They have no bicycles—I wonder why they can't one day stop drinking beer and start saving money to buy a bicycle. . . . Their wives commit adultery very much during the day. You know, Mulamo, their wives cook *bwali* (the traditional Bemba dish of porridge) with chicken relish and take it to their boy-friends while their husbands die of hunger. Ah well, let them suffer: it is their turn now for when we were going to school they thought we were wasting our time, and laughed at us. . . .'

At length they reached the location. Then, near the market-place in Kabushi Suburb, someone called out to Thompson, using the appropriate greeting for a man seen returning from work. They stopped and Thompson spoke to the man, whom Chanda did not know. The stranger told Thompson that his father had had to leave his job on the mine at Luanshya because he was no longer considered fit to work. As they parted and went on their way Thompson remarked: ' You know, it is as though those who have stayed in the villages would bewitch us because we no longer visit them. Let's go Chanda, that man is a real *lichona*.' [1] They approached the Bottle Store where Thompson noticed a Southern Rhodesian girl passing by. ' She's an Ndebele,' he said. ' If you want I'll call her so that you can " play " her.' ' But she does not know me, and anyway I don't speak Ndebele so how shall I coax her? ' Chanda enquired. ' You know I've been in Bulawayo, and I know how to approach them; they're easy-going people,' Thompson replied. ' Moreover, you look very smart, Mulamo, she wouldn't deny you.' But Chanda seemed unconvinced. He reminded Thompson that only recently the latter had jokingly threatened to expose one of Chanda's own peccadilloes. ' And is that Ndebele not also a woman? ' he asked. ' No,' said Thompson, ' because she is not related to me, nor is she your tribeswoman. Such women are our " ration " here in town.' The two men parted and agreed to meet later in the day.

[1] A vernacular expression used of one considered to have severed his ties with his village completely.

When he reached his house Chanda found that his wife was not at home. His next-door neighbour said that she had gone to Bwana M'kubwa, which is about six miles outside Ndola. This news upset him, for his wife had said nothing about going out. He was suddenly afraid that the Mobile Police Unit which was based at Bwana M'kubwa might have arrested her and taken her away. He spoke to another neighbour who assured him that there was no cause for alarm. She told him that the first neighbour was of the Nsenga tribe who had probably misunderstood what Mrs. Chanda had said as she knew little Bemba. Eventually his wife returned and prepared food. Later he went off to deliver a message to a teacher at the school in the Old Location. He returned shortly and he and his wife spent the rest of the day quietly at home. . . .

The following day was a Saturday and Chanda went into town early in order to do some shopping. Outside the butcher's shop he met a young man called Godfrey. Godfrey was a Lozi. He and Chanda had once worked together for a short time when Chanda was employed as a clerk in the Public Works Department in Ndola. At the moment Godfrey was unemployed and looking for work. Chanda asked him to accompany him to a shop where Chanda bought some meat pies which they proceeded to eat on the spot. They were joined by another young man, a Lala by the name of John. John expressed surprise at seeing Chanda in Ndola, for the last time they had met they were both working in Luanshya, the nearest town about twenty miles away. John, indeed, had been carpenter's assistant to Chanda's elder classificatory brother who still lived there. John had come over to Ndola and found work with a European as a house-boy, but at present he too was unemployed. Chanda introduced John to Godfrey and while they were chatting together another man came up and greeted Godfrey in Lozi, which neither of the others understood. The Lozi was an African detective stationed in Ndola and when he departed Godfrey commented: 'That man is very cruel—he arrests people very much. He will stay near the butchery because he knows that the butchery-boys steal much meat and then sell it privately. See him standing there by the back-door. . . .' John looked around. 'Does he also arrest "loafers", that old man?'

Together the three young men walked along the main street of the town. As they reached one of the oldest established and best known of the European stores Chanda was hailed by an orderly in the Public Works Department on his way to the Post Office to collect mail. 'Hallo, hallo, Mr. Chanda. Are you well, my father?' He also greeted Godfrey. 'And have you still not found work?' he asked. Then he explained to Chanda: 'This man, father, suffers greatly through unemployment, and it's all the fault of Leonard T., that fellow you used to work with in the P.W.D. He led Godfrey astray. . . .' The orderly was about to embark on his story when a Land Rover pulled up outside the store and

wo Government Messengers got out. They immediately recognized he P.W.D. orderly and greeted him warmly. Chanda noted that ll three were of the Aushi tribe in the Fort Rosebery District. Chanda was introduced to the newcomers and soon they were giving im news of a number of his friends temporarily engaged on a job here. At length the messengers went into the store to buy shot, ut there was none in stock and they drove off. Chanda bade his riends farewell and set off home.

When he reached his house he found that he had visitors. His vife's grandmother Ella had just arrived from Fort Rosebery. Vith her on this occasion was her younger sister Rose, and Alice, he elder sister of his wife, both of whom were also living in Kabushi Suburb. Although she was a grandmother, Ella still looked very oung and, indeed, prided herself on her youthful appearance: she egarded herself as a 'modern' woman and was still working as nurse at the Fort Rosebery Hospital. She began to tell Chanda ow when Laura, his wife, was a girl she had paid for her schooling. he had hoped that Laura would not marry early, but would con- inue her education at a school in Southern Rhodesia. But then vhen Laura was in Lusaka her mother had forced her into marriage vith some Lala fellow whom she didn't love. When next she vent to Lusaka, Ella continued, and saw Laura's mother she was oing to tell her something . . . and not even to write a letter all ne time! While they were talking there was a knock at the door nd Chanda's sister Anne, who was on a visit from Elizabethville n the Belgian Congo, came in. Chanda made the introductions, nd began to explain something of his family tree. Ella soon nterrupted him: 'Do you know, ShiChomba, that this is your own randchild you have married?' She went into a lengthy account f the way they were all related, and finally concluded: 'You *achona*, you never bother to write letters to those who remain in ne village. One day when you go there you will find yourselves ost for those you left behind will already have gone.' They all aughed and agreed it was so. 'But time is short, grandmother.' aura went and prepared food for the guests. Chanda sat apart nd read the newspaper. . . .

Early next morning Chanda set off to visit his friend James who ved in another part of the town known simply as the African uburb, and whose wife had just given birth to a baby. James ad worked with Chanda's elder classificatory brother Michael on carpentry course given at a mission station in their home district. Michael had introduced James to Chanda when he had come on visit to Ndola a few years previously. James was employed as carpenter in the Public Works Department where Chanda himself t that time was a clerk, and the two became very close friends. n his way to the African Suburb Chanda passed through the Old ocation and called on another friend, a 'home fellow' from the uapula Valley whom Chanda had known from boyhood. His

friend was not at home; a younger sister's husband who was staying in the house said he had gone to Chingola and would not be back for a fortnight. Chanda did not stay, but rode off for the Suburb.

James' wife was standing in the doorway when Chanda arrived at the house. He spoke to her in Bemba, using the special greeting customarily addressed to a woman who has just given birth to a child. They spoke a little about the baby, and then she told him that her husband had gone off to another house where there was said to be beer. Chanda left and eventually found James with another fellow whom he didn't know, but who also lived in Kabushi. They entered a house where beer was for sale. But it was not to their liking so they moved to another house. But here they did not even enter because the owner of the house would not allow them to park their bicycles nearby for fear the police would suspect the presence of illicitly brewed beer and come and arrest them. James said: ' Let's go and look for beer at Maria's—though I know she will have taken it to *mikotokoto* ', referring to those small clearings in the bush where beer is taken for sale in order to avoid the attentions of the police.

James had guessed aright. Maria greeted Chanda with an excited outburst: ' Good heavens! ShiChomba. I'd almost forgotten you, it's so long ago. . . . So you're back in Ndola again? ' Maria was a friend of James' wife and remembered Chanda from the time he himself had lived in the African Suburb. They bought beer and then another ' home fellow ' called George came in. They sat drinking and chatting until an Ngoni man interrupted and begged Chanda for a cigarette. George told Chanda not to be foolish, the fellow was a born scrounger: when he knew he was coming to drink beer he should have bought a packet of cigarettes for three-pence at a tea-room. ' If you give him cigarettes next thing he'll be begging for beer.' George continued to abuse the Ngoni, but none of the company intervened. Altogether there were six Ngoni and nine Bemba women present, as well as a number of Ngoni, Lala and Bemba men. But they were mostly older people. George joked: ' The beer is no good for here we are in the bush with only a lot of " old girls "—there's not a young 'un among the lot you could have some fun with.' He made some further ribald remarks and rose to go. James was keen to go on to the African Township at Twapya, a mile or so further along the road, where there was certain to be more beer, but Chanda said he had no more money and, after escorting his friends part of the way, he returned to Kabushi.

It was still quite early so, before going home he decided to call in and see his sister Anne. Anne was staying with a classificatory sister who was married to a businessman called Martin. At Martin's house there were a number of visitors including Martin's own elder sister and a classificatory brother, and another man whom Chanda didn't know but whom he identified as a Kasai. Martin introduced him as a friend, adding that he had been in Northern Rhodesia so

long that people no longer recognized him as a Kasai. 'He speaks Bemba very well, and his face and manner do not reveal him as a Kasai.' Martin himself had just returned from a business trip to Elizabethville, and after a while Chanda asked him whether he had seen Anne's husband Jackson there. Martin replied that he had and had delivered Chanda's letter to him, but Jackson had said he was unable to answer it for the moment. 'But why can't he write us a few lines?' Chanda asked. Martin explained that Jackson was busy: he had just bought a new vanette, and he spent his time moving between the various Government offices to have his documents endorsed before he could put his vanette on the road. 'Oh, that is very good—that he is a rich man.' Chanda appears to have been suitably impressed, and he quickly changed the subject. 'What about the "fever coat" I asked you to buy me?' he demanded. 'You know last time I went I found the coats all right,' Martin replied, 'but you hadn't given me the correct size so I didn't buy you one. This time they were all finished. I tried hard to find you one, but I failed. Most of the ones I saw were of inferior quality which you, *mulamo* (brother-in-law), as a gentleman could not wear.' 'Oh, then I am unlucky,' Chanda said. Shortly afterwards he left and went home.

A short while after these events Mrs. Chanda had to go to Bancroft, the new mine township near Chingola, for a few days. Chanda saw her off at the bus station and then rode off to town to collect some photographs of himself which he had had taken recently. Returning home later, and passing by the Beer Hall, he ran into a number of close kinsmen who had just arrived in Ndola from home. They were talking to Crawford, an official of the African National Congress, who was based at Ndola, the Congress headquarters for the Western Province. Chanda, who had himself been a branch official in the movement when he was living elsewhere on the Copperbelt, knew Crawford very well, but now he learnt that they were also kinsmen, for it soon emerged in the course of the introductions that Crawford was Chanda's classificatory father, although they were of different tribes and came from different parts of the country. Neither had known previously of the relationship, and now they both expressed their pleasure in its discovery. 'So you are related to Francis, my brother-in-law here,' Crawford exclaimed. 'You know,' he went on, 'Francis' sister is married to my own brother. Now it is good that our relationship is revealed today. That is why we get on so well together. It is the blood of kinship. Very fine, indeed.'

Francis, who worked for his maternal uncle as book-keeper, clerk and bus conductor, had come down to Ndola with one of his uncle's buses which required servicing. Now he insisted that Chanda give him a lift back to the garage on his bicycle. Passing through the town, Francis pointed to one of the offices and explained: 'This morning I went to those people to place an order for a new bus from

Johannesburg at £3,000. You know, father, the ladies and the African clerks were looking at me very much and nodding their heads when they saw me signing the indenture papers with the manager. They saw me as a very high chap. . . . One of the European ladies gave me a cigarette. You know, father, I had two bottles of beer in the morning before I came into town so when I was talking I was very careful that my language was moderate.' 'Yes, indeed, you made an impression,' Chanda commented. 'It was a landmark.' At the garage Chanda produced the photographs of himself. Francis looked at them and exclaimed with a gasp of astonishment: 'Yaa—you look just like a European, father, truly. I know you are not coming home (i.e. to the village) any more because you are very particular about things. . . .'

The following afternoon, a Sunday, Chanda dressed up properly and set off for the Welfare Centre to watch the football match between teams from Ndola and Mufulira. But at the entrance to the ground he met his sister-in-law and her husband Robert on their way to the Beer Hall together with another elder sister of his wife. They enquired after Mrs. Chanda and the baby and when he told them that she had gone off to Bancroft they upbraided him for not having informed them before. 'Who is there to sweep up the house, and fetch water for your bath? You did wrong by not telling us,' they said. Robert then invited Chanda to accompany them to the Beer Hall.

At the Beer Hall they found seats in one of the chalets and immediately Chanda found himself being introduced to a large number of people whom Robert addressed as brother, maternal uncle and so on. Together they all set to drinking the large supply of bottled beer which Robert had provided. Robert himself was a Lamba of the Ndola District. He had married Alice nine years ago. Once he had visited his wife's kin in the Kawambwa District, and appeared to have been greatly impressed by what he saw there. He began to tell his relatives how well he had been treated in Kawambwa, and sought to persuade them to go there in search of wives who would be respectful and docile. All present seemed to be growing increasingly drunk. Alice asked Chanda, who tended to become intoxicated rather quickly, why he was drinking so little and sat there so quietly. Chanda replied that he was perfectly all right; he was afraid to say much lest in an unguarded moment he let something slip which might give offence to his freshly introduced affines. A Bemba woman sitting nearby agreed, and said it was always wise to watch one's step when drinking with one's in-laws. But Robert, carried away by his theme, began singing lustily: 'I am a man grown old in the town who has married a beautiful lady of Kawambwa, and that's where I'm going to settle,' until his wife grabbed him by the shoulder and quietened him down. At six o'clock the Beer Hall closed and, as it was raining, Chanda made his way back to Kabushi and went to sleep.

## III

Chanda, from whose own written accounts I have built up these ' sketches from urban life ', is a young man in his early thirties. He comes from the Luapula Valley where his father is a village headman in the Lunda kingdom of Kazembe. Chanda spent his boyhood in the Valley, and received an elementary education at a mission school in the Kawambwa District. On leaving school he accompanied an older relative to Elizabethville where eventually he got a job as a clerk in a European firm of importers and exporters. After some years he decided to return to Northern Rhodesia. At Luanshya he was employed as a filing clerk with a Medical Research Unit on the mine there. More recently he had worked as an assistant in an African store and tearoom at Bancroft before he decided to come to Ndola again where he was employed as a typist-clerk.

Chanda is not a typical urban African; for, as Ellen Hellmann (1949, p. 271) remarks, there is no such person. Nevertheless, running through the accounts I have presented of his activities in Ndola we may discern and pick out a number of motifs, recurrent themes in the overall pattern of the social life of the town. I should note at once that the events recalled in these accounts all took place at week-ends when Chanda was off duty and free to enjoy his leisure. Yet we are also reminded on a number of occasions of the paramount need for a job in this community. The African of the towns no longer lives on the produce of the soil he has cultivated himself. Although a great many African women in Ndola do prepare gardens in the areas of bush which fringe the town, the produce of these gardens remains at most a valuable supplement to a diet of which the basic items are bought with cash. The urban African is essentially a wage-earner, dependent for his livelihood on the opportunities and services provided by the others, particularly Europeans. He has come into an urban world in which, as Louis Wirth (1956, p. 123) has aptly put it, the clock and the traffic signal are symbolic of the basis of the social order. Employment of some kind then is a necessity in the town, while the reflections of the Health Inspector on the African workers scurrying back to the location at lunch-time also demonstrate how the kind of work one does not only shapes the daily round, but also affects the regard in which a man is held by his fellows. The effective functioning of a town demands a complex division of labour within a single economic order. Thompson's remarks also suggest important social divisions within the community which are based in occupational differences and expressed in significant differences in patterns of behaviour and ideology. When he wondered why African labourers did not save instead of squandering their money on beer his observation was not necessarily valid; nevertheless he was giving clear expression to the same kind of ' middle class ' attitude which elsewhere views improvidence and

thriftlessness as amongst the chief characteristics of the English working class.

Where so much depends upon having a job, unemployment must count as a major hazard in African urban life, though it is not yet the chronic sore it has become in other more industrialized societies. Although no reliable quantitative evidence is available, there are ample references in the contemporary records to the incidence of unemployment amongst Africans during the economic depression of the thirties. Undoubtedly the ability of many to return to their villages in the tribal areas and live once more off the land mitigated the general hardship, but the widespread distress of the period is recalled in the word *cipoyoyo*, a vernacular term coined at the time and still commonly used in referring to the slump.[1] After the war Northern Rhodesia entered upon a new expansionary phase, and for some years now Government Labour Officers have consistently reported a general demand for labour in excess of the supply.[2] Full employment of course does not mean that there are no unemployed. There appears to be a considerable amount of transitional unemployment, particularly in the building industry as one contract comes to an end and others have yet to begin.[3] There is also a very high labour turnover due to personal and other causes, and young men like Godfrey and John, referred to in Chanda's account, who give up or are dismissed from one job may have to wait some time before finding another, and may, as the P.W.D. orderly remarked, 'suffer much through unemployment'. As I have indicated, there has been no serious unemployment throughout the period of my various field-studies. At the same time, the possibility of unemployment is always present as a potential threat to the personal security of the African in the town, a threat, moreover, to which he is especially vulnerable in certain respects. Since a strong body of official and unofficial European opinion still insists on regarding the African worker primarily as a temporarily displaced tribesman with only minimal rights and responsibilities in the town, no provision yet exists for social insurance schemes and the payment of unemployment benefits. Secondly, wages are generally paid on a 'ticket' basis, the ticket normally being completed in just over a month. But few families ever manage to make their wages stretch over the whole period so that they rarely have any savings behind them to withstand a spell of temporary unemployment or other emergency. On top of all this, houses are tied to jobs in such a way that loss of employment is likely to involve

[1] Dr. V. W. Turner tells me that among the Lamba of the Ndola District the onset of the slump in the closing of the open cast mine at Bwana M'kubwa still marks an important point in dating events.

[2] I refer to the situation as I knew it in 1956.

[3] Mr. A. A. Nyirenda found in an independent study carried out in Lusaka that many bricklayers there who were temporarily unemployed sought a livelihood by selling in the African market. I do not know whether this practice was followed in Ndola. See Nyirenda, 1957.

immediate eviction[1] with its attendant problems of moving furniture and possessions and finding temporary accommodation for wife and children.

The risk of unemployment does not of course affect equally or in the same way all categories within the African urban population. Obviously the pressures of the urban system do not weigh so heavily on the younger men who are still bachelors or have only recently married, and are relatively recent arrivals from the rural areas; and it is within this category that the highest rate of labour turnover is found.[2] Nevertheless the various factors just outlined above do underline the economically dependent status of the African in a Northern Rhodesia town. Socially and politically, it is also an uncertain status. While there are a number of ordinances whose provisions aim to protect the interests of the Africans, there are also various administrative measures designed to control the movement of the African population, the general effect of which is to make even more manifest his insecure position in the towns. Thus while local authorities are required by law to set aside special housing areas or locations for their African residents, no African, for example, may lawfully remain in such an area for more than twenty-four hours without the special permission of the Location Superintendent. In recent years there has been an increasing concern in many quarters about the growing incidence of violence amongst Africans in the urban areas, which is commonly attributed to the presence of large numbers of ' loafers ' believed to be residing illegally in the locations.[3] In Ndola, accordingly, raids for ' unauthorized persons ' are carried out regularly by the location police. During my stay

[1] Under the terms of the African Urban Housing Ordinance the Location Superintendent has a discretion to allow an unemployed man to remain in possession of the house for a further month provided he can pay the rent himself. In my experience, few Africans are aware of this provision and my impression is that so great is the demand for housing that in any case the discretion is rarely exercised.

[2] See also Mitchell, 1951, where the evidence suggests that newcomers move about during the first five years of their residence on the Copperbelt and then settle down in one town. This is also reflected to some extent in African trade unions where the greater the stability of labour the stronger is the tendency to join a union. See Mwewa, 1958.

[3] During 1955 there were widespread reports of stoning incidents in which cars were attacked by riotous mobs after accidents involving Africans, frequently irrespective of the race of the driver and whether in fact the particular car had been involved in the accident or was merely stopping to offer assistance. In a similar sort of incident at Chingola some 2,000 Africans rioted after an African worker was accidentally killed by a moving crane. Different interpretations will no doubt be placed upon these events, but it is at least clear that they cannot be satisfactorily explained by an easy reference to the presence of loafers alone. While it is true that many of those arrested for their part in the Chingola riot were ' unauthorized persons ' living on the mine compound without permission, they were not ' loafers ' for they were in employment elsewhere in the town. Parasites and rogues who live on their wits there may be—as there are in every town—but my own view is that the dimensions of the ' loafer ' problem as commonly conceived are grossly exaggerated. What emerged plainly from the Chingola incident were the dimensions of the housing problem.

in Ndola one such large-scale comb-out was undertaken by the Mobile Police Unit based at Bwana M'kubwa at the request of the Location Superintendent. Such was the manner in which they carried out their task that for days afterwards I continued to hear of women who were said to be sleeping in the bush for fear of arrest. At the next meeting of the Urban Advisory Council the African leaders vigorously protested against the provocative and offensive behaviour of the police. They drew attention to the fact that women who were in possession of the correct residence permits had been arrested and subsequently fined in the African Urban Court because they were not in possession of marriage certificates. Such arrests were of course illegal since there was no law in force in the Territory which required the compulsory registration of marriage amongst Africans. The District Commissioner, in reply, explained why the Mobile Police Unit had been called in. The police as a whole was under strength, he said, but occasionally it was possible to borrow a platoon from Bwana M'kubwa for a couple of weeks. The Location Superintendent had gone away on a short leave, and he himself did not know what instructions had been given. However, the District Commissioner continued, as soon as he heard about the question of marriage certificates he got in touch with the Officer-in-Charge and told him to withdraw the instruction. The District Commissioner said that he was very sorry for what had happened; there had been a misunderstanding of the instructions to the Police. When he sought to reassure the Advisory Council that the same mistake would not be made again, one member was quick to point out that a raid of precisely the same kind had been carried out at the same time in the previous year.[1] It was the possibility of such a raid that sprang to Chanda's mind when he returned home one day and was told by his neighbour that his wife had gone to Bwana M'kubwa.[2] In a Northern Rhodesia town the African is never a full and free citizen as that term would be understood elsewhere.

Environment is a relative concept: its bounds are never set, but what it shall include varies according to the social units isolated for purposes of analysis. Viewed then from the standpoint of the Africans dwelling in the location, the themes I have been discussing so far may be described as environmental constants: they refer to

[1] After the meeting the District Commissioner commented to me that the Advisory Council had his full sympathy. On the other hand, he explained, one couldn't let the police down too badly. The whole business had put him in a very difficult position!

[2] In this generally unsettled atmosphere it is hardly surprising that Africans should sometimes appear unduly credulous and ready to believe the worst, and that the wildest rumours should receive widespread and ready acceptance. At the time of the arrests the rumour soon got around that Government was rounding up the tax defaulters and despatching them to work on the great dam being built at the Kariba Gorge. Amongst Africans the area was commonly regarded as a ' death-trap ' and for a week or more the clerks were scarcely able to cope with the long queues of Africans coming hastily to pay their overdue taxes.

institutions and policies operative within the urban system over which the African has little direct control, but which impinge upon him at every turn. Economic organization and the local system of administration will vary of course according to the kinds of economic function that the town has come to serve, to the aims and practice of central and colonial governments, to the presence and rôle of minority groups, and so on. But whatever form these take, the economic and administrative institutions of the town form the major part of the new social environment to which the urban African has to adjust. They provide a basic institutional framework, moulding and at the same time circumscribing the pattern of social relations amongst Africans in the town.

Within the limits set by this environment there are also areas of greater or lesser autonomy in which other sets of social uniformities are to be found. The first of these relates to the pattern of social relationships amongst Africans in the town. Here again Chanda's accounts provide a useful point of departure. These accounts show Chanda in personal interaction with a wide variety of individuals. The nature of his association with these people differs greatly in degree and kind. Some are purely casual and fleeting encounters as when he accompanied his friend James to the beer-drink at *mikotokoto*,[1] though it is noticeable here how he at once categorized the company in terms of its mixed tribal composition. In other cases, although the people were previously unknown to him, they fell into an acknowledged social category which required some modification of his behaviour. Such was his introduction at the Beer Hall to the kin of his wife's sister's husband, whom he at once treated as his own affines in accordance with tribal custom, although they were in fact of a different tribe and one, moreover, which enjoys low prestige in the towns. In yet other cases the encounter was again casual, but friendly interaction took place on the basis of a former relationship, as with the orderly or the young man Godfrey who had once been fellow employees with Chanda in the Public Works Department; or the effect of the meeting was to reaffirm ties which were still in existence, but temporarily dormant or inactive as in the case of his kinsmen who had just arrived in Ndola from the tribal area. Finally, there was a range of people he interacted with regularly, and with whom his relationship was relatively intense.

Each person within the total range of contact thus had a different rôle in relation to Chanda. For the most part, though not entirely, these rôles reflect and emerge out of the different forms of grouping that operate within the urban field. It is obviously beyond the scope of the present paper to embark on a detailed analysis of these groupings; all I shall attempt here therefore is to indicate them and sketch them in a preliminary fashion. To begin with, there are the social relationships associated with neighbourhood and locality. Social ties are brought into being by the mere fact of physical contiguity

[1] See above, p. 36.

and proximity. There are parts of Africa where the housing of the urban population proceeds relatively free of Government or Municipal and other controls, and the African citizen has some degree of choice over how and where he should live. But in a town like Ndola choice of this kind is more restricted, for the responsibility for providing African housing is shouldered mainly by the local authority, while the actual allocation of houses is controlled by the Location Superintendent. The usual procedure in applying for a house is to approach the Location Office through one's employer. Since the housing shortage is so acute the newcomer will probably have his name added to a list, and may then have to wait for some months or even longer before he is housed.[1] Through this system of allocation the new occupant of a house has no idea what sort of neighbours he is going to have. Although the system does allow of a certain amount of selection of house-holders by the authorities, the Municipal Council does not follow a policy of attempting to concentrate members of certain tribes in particular sections of the location. Any one section or ward, therefore, will show considerable diversity amongst its residents in terms of tribal origins, and to a lesser extent in terms of occupational and other criteria. In short, one is rarely in a position to choose one's neighbours or one's neighbourhood.

Nor is it always easy to ignore or to isolate oneself from uncongenial neighbours. Houses in the location are small and their physical proximity imposes a certain minimum of co-operation. In order to reach one's own house, it is often necessary to cross a neighbour's yard. There is a communal water tap for each section and there are slabs for washing clothes. Here the women gather and have to take it in turn to fetch water or do their chores. The water taps are a frequent source of quarrels, but they also provide an opportunity for people to learn about one another, to make new friendships etc., and they become a focal point of chatter. The neighbourhood is socially a more important unit for women than it is for men. Men go off to work during the day and do not have the opportunities to form the same attachments within the immediate neighbourhood as the women, who spend more of their time around the house. Many African women still spend most of their time outside the house itself: they prepare the vegetables, cook their meals, and do their washing up in the open. In this way they see their neighbours doing exactly the same sort of thing and they carry on conversations together. Often they will pop over the fence, so to speak, and do their chores together. Neighbours help one another in a variety of ways: they borrow money from one another, or items of foodstuff if they should suddenly run out, or they may put up your mother-in-law if she should come to stay with you,

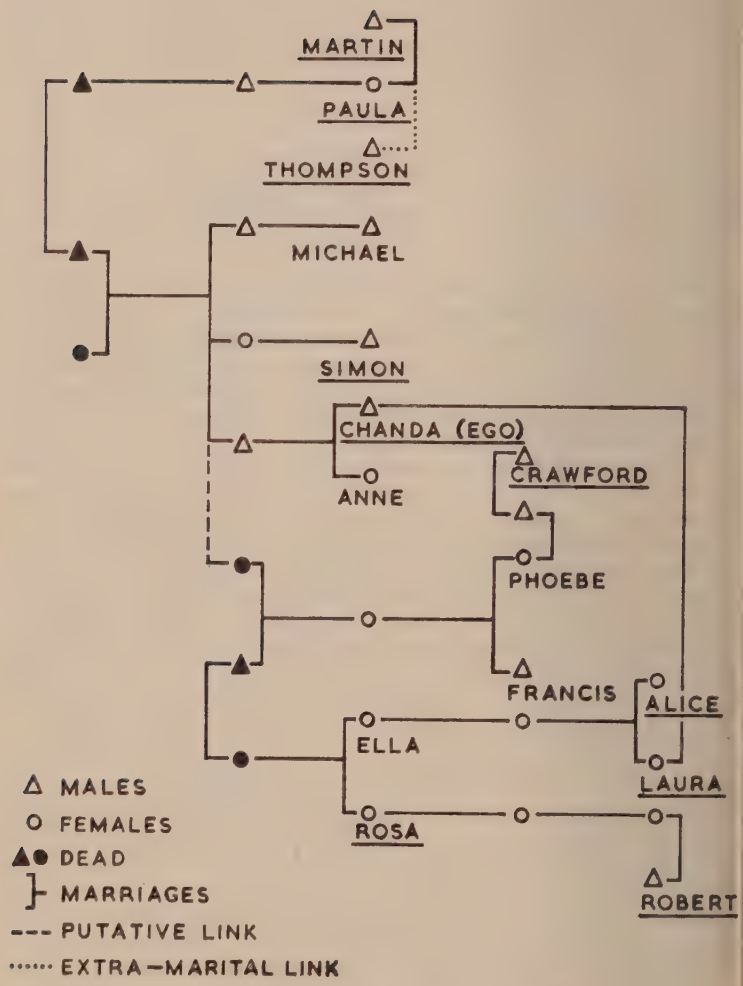
[1] In the meantime, a residence permit, renewable weekly at a cost of threepence, entitles one to reside legally in the location with friends or relatives. The whole situation lends itself readily to graft and all manner of intrigue.

and you consider it would be a breach of the in-law taboo to have her sleep in your own house. Beyond this, sets of adjoining houses become small gossip clusters in which the affairs of the neighbours are made known, discussed and criticized. Neighbours tend to know a good deal of one's private life and movements. Whenever a man returns home and finds his wife absent, as did Chanda on one occasion, his first recourse is to one or other of his immediate neighbours.

The boundaries of the neighbourhood are of course necessarily vague and, at its further reaches, neighbourhood shades into locality. Each part of the town, and each division or ward of the location is distinguished by the name conferred upon it by the local authority.

But as I have shown elsewhere (Epstein, 1959, p. 244) the Africans themselves also invent and employ other names to express the special character or value which a given locality has come to enjoy in their own eyes. Furthermore, in casual social intercourse, as when Chanda found his friend James in the company of a man from Kabushi whom he did not know, individuals are categorized according to the locality in which they live.

At the time Chanda prepared his accounts for me he had only recently moved into a new house and his neighbours do not figure prominently in them. In terms of numbers at least, the most important single category of persons with whom he interacted was composed of a varied body of kinsfolk. The *extent* of kinship, using that expression to cover the number of actual personal contacts with kin, is most striking. Nor of course do those individuals mentioned in the text exhaust the full extent of Chanda's kinship connexions. There were a number of other kinsmen living in Ndola whom he saw more or less frequently, and there were many others visiting the town who would call on him, or whom he would encounter unexpectedly on the way. In Luanshya, too, he had an extensive kin connexion and whenever the opportunity afforded he would make the journey there by bus or bicycle to visit them. But what is equally if not more striking is the *range* of kinship, that is, the nature and degree of spread of kinship ties, which may be seen plainly in the skeleton genealogy I have prepared to link those persons who find a place in his narrative. None of Chanda's immediate kin was in Ndola. Two sisters were living in Elizabethville, and another two elsewhere on the Copperbelt. His father and his three brothers lived at home in Lunda country. Nevertheless, even in Ndola he remains surrounded by kinsmen for he recognizes and maintains close links with those to whom he claims relationship however remote, in both the male and female lines as well as by ties of affinity. In this way he speaks, for example, of Paula, the daughter of his father's father's brother's son, as his sister, and is addressed as father by the slightly younger Francis whose maternal grandmother was a classificatory sister of Chanda's own father.




Skeleton Genealogy

It seems clear that a classificatory system of kinship of this kind performs the same general function in an urban milieu as it does in tribal society. More accurately, perhaps, it serves a dual function. On the one hand, it reduces all possible relationships of kinship to a limited and readily manageable number of categories of kin to whom behaviour is adjusted according to the appropriate kin relationship. On the other hand, it allows and even provides for the extension of these patterns of behaviour to an indefinite number of persons with whom actual genealogical connexion may be extremely remote. In this respect, therefore, and in this sense, kinship provides one of the most important principles for ordering social relations amongst Africans in the towns. At the same time, kinship involves more than a mere indication of the appropriate forms of behaviour to be adopted in social intercourse. The recognition of ties of kinship involves also recognition of reciprocal responsibilities, obligations and privileges. At this time, for instance, Chanda's burdens were particularly heavy. He was keeping at his home and feeding his patrilateral cross-cousin Simon and his wife until Simon got a job and house of his own. A conversation with Thompson, whom he met one day at the Location Office in Kabushi as they were returning from work, illustrates the difficulties he was facing.

'*Mulamo*, I know you are in a fix,' Thompson began after Chanda had shown some reluctance to accompany his friend to the Beer Hall. 'You are very worried about your financial state. Your sister (meaning Anne) has come for a very important matter, asking for 10,000 francs to buy a plot of land in Elizabethville where all your sisters in the Congo can live with their families. Your wife's grandmother is here too. And you need money for your rations and pleasure, and I understand you also have a very high account at the stores in town. So if you go home this time you will feel very sad. To make you forget all this, the best thing is to come with me to the Beer Hall so that you feel a little happy.' Chanda elaborated on his distress. 'Where can I ever find the 10,000 francs my sister is looking for?' he asked. 'If it were just clothes she wanted, it wouldn't be so bad, but she only wants money. When she wrote a letter from Chingola she didn't say anything about all this, just that she was coming here. 10,000 francs is nearly £150. I don't know what to do.' 'I understand fully the troubles you have,' Thompson replied. 'Moreover, you keep a lot of people at your home. But let us just go and drink some beer.'

The ties of kinship impose onerous obligations which are frequently resented and even on occasion ignored; but the responsibilities are also matched with privileges. If Chanda found his duties to kinsfolk irksome at times, he also knew that in other situations and at other times he would be able to claim from them hospitality and support. Thus when his wife was away on a short visit to Bancroft he was entitled to ask her sisters to come and help

in cooking for and looking after him and, indeed, they upbraided him mildly because he had not told them that Laura had gone and he was staying on his own. From others, too, he was able to demand favours even if sometimes, as when Martin failed to bring him back a jacket from Elizabethville, he was sadly disappointed. In the towns, where social relationships are so often casual and transitory, and where the status of the African is so fundamentally uncertain and insecure, the maintenance of widespread ties of kinship helps to ensure that there will always be someone around one can rely upon for support and assistance now and for the future. Ties of kinship of course alter in their degree of intensity as the result of absence and the movement of people, but the ties themselves are permanent and enduring for they are fixed by the system of descent. The wide extent and range of kinship recognized in the towns thus introduces an important element of stability into what is an extremely fluid situation.

Where kinship appears to serve such important social functions in the towns, it is not perhaps surprising that its values should spill over into and colour other social relationships. Thus the modes of address and forms of behaviour appropriate between particular categories of kin are readily extended to unrelated persons, and close relations with neighbours and friends are frequently translated in this way into the idiom of kinship. What is even more illuminating as illustrating the high value that attaches to kinship are those cases where the parties to an already existing relationship are later found to be kinsmen as well. Such discoveries are usually made in the course of social introductions, which are frequently accompanied by a detailed recital of ancestry and family connexions, and they will be received with expressions of deep pleasure. For example, when it emerged that Chanda was married to a girl whom he could properly call his grandchild, everyone present immediately chorused approval: they saw the link of kinship as lending additional strength to the bonds which already united them. The tracing out of Chanda's tie of kinship with the Congress leader Crawford was greeted with a similar display of approbation. In neither of these instances was the discovery likely to affect the behaviour of the parties to one another in any noticeable way. Nevertheless, the establishment of the kin tie was seen as something valuable in itself, lending to the relationship a tone it had previously lacked.

The nature of this ' additional ' element emerges most clearly in Crawford's case, and offers a clue to understanding the value which kinship comes to assume in the urban areas. As mentioned earlier, Chanda had known Crawford already for some considerable time. Indeed, they were quite close friends and often drank beer together at the Beer Hall. But when he met his kinsman Francis together with Crawford one day, Francis at once explained that Crawford's own full brother, a schoolteacher in the Kawambwa District, was married to Phoebe, Francis's sister and Chanda's classificatory

mother.[1] Chanda therefore immediately recognized Crawford as his own classificatory father. But what is important to note is that recognition did not involve any change in their behaviour towards one another. Chanda did not now treat Crawford with the respect due to a member of the senior adjacent generation, even allowing for the fact that in the matrilineal systems in which they had both been reared the relationship of father and son is much easier than in a patrilineal system, where it is the father and not the mother's brother who exercises authority over his children. On the contrary, their behaviour remained that of friends and equals. Indeed, this was emphasized by Crawford himself when he remarked: ' We play together, share our gifts, and so on just as friends and yet we are related by blood. . . . Ah, this is fine, indeed.'

Of course even in the routine of ordinary life under tribal conditions the intercourse of kinsfolk often lacks formal precision. On the other hand, among the tribes, kinship frequently provides a basis for the formation of corporate groups, for common residence, claims to land, and so on: as such, it is articulated with the whole political and social system of the tribe. In the towns this condition does not obtain at all: here, moreover, it has to be remembered that the urban African population is made up predominantly of men and women of working age, i.e. up to about 40, and that members of the senior generation are conspicuously absent. Thus kinship relationships under urban conditions are in a sense largely ' de-structured ', and kinship consists essentially in broad categories of persons who stand in different degrees of relationship of blood and affinity to one another, but who tend to treat one another as equals and recognize a general obligation to help one another. This does not mean that the appropriate forms of behaviour as between, say, adjacent generations or affines are overlooked or minimized; what it means is that the further one proceeds beyond the range of immediate kin, the greater is the tendency to regard all kin, whatever their actual genealogical connexion, as falling within the same broad category. It seems significant that in modern Copperbelt parlance such persons are spoken of as being related *mu cibululu*, a term now used by all tribes to express the notion of kinship which derives via ' Kitchen Kafir ' from the Afrikaans word *broer*, meaning brother. The deep value which attaches to kinship in the urban context lies in the fact that at its furthest extension kinship becomes synonymous with and gives expression to the fundamental values of brotherhood.

Closely related to the ties of kinship, though really of a different order, are those which stem from membership of a tribe. Every African in Ndola is a member of a tribe, and the veriest tot will answer without hesitation if asked what tribe he belongs to. All told, there are probably some fifty and more tribes represented in

[1] The relationship involved here has to be understood in the light of the principles of positional succession, and the identification of alternate generations described by Cunnison, 1956.

the population of the town. They are drawn mostly from the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Northern Rhodesia, but important sections also come from the Western and Central Provinces, and from the neighbouring territories of Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo. The tribes themselves are scattered indiscriminately over the whole location, though here and there about the town small tribal pockets may be found. Thus the small settlement known as the Sanitary Farm, which is slightly apart from the location, is composed almost entirely of Luvale, and amongst other tribes is commonly regarded as the haunt of sorcerers and ghouls. To all Luvale, irrespective of the jobs they actually do, the collective term *Nyamazai*, scavengers, is contemptuously applied because the Luvale alone of all the tribes have shown willingness to undertake the work of night-soil removal. Luvale and Lunda from the Mwinilunga District are also said to be concentrated in various contractors' compounds around the town, and in the African Township at Twapia which caters for petty traders and other self-employed Africans, but I did not check these statements carefully in the field.

Although in the main they are thus interspersed and intermingled, the tribes are also set apart from one another by language, custom, and other marks of distinctiveness. A wide variety of tribal languages are spoken in the town and these are often mutually unintelligible. In the Urban Court or in other contexts where Africans of different tribes have to come together recourse has frequently to be made to interpreters. In these circumstances, misunderstandings of the kind attributed to Chanda's Nsenga neighbour are common. On the other hand, most Africans I have known well showed a remarkable ease in acquiring the tongues of other groups (see Epstein 1959). Customs, too, particularly those relating to dress or adornment, serve as important diacritical indices which readily disclose one's tribal identity. Even physical appearance may be a relevant factor, as is suggested in Martin's introduction of his Kasai friend to Chanda, though it is also apparent from Martin's remarks that what are physical characteristics and what cultural may not always be easy to determine. On the basis of these and other criteria, tribes become important categories of social interaction amongst Africans in the towns, as Mitchell (1957a) has shown. Support for this view of urban tribalism is to be found throughout Chanda's account. Whenever he comes into the presence of strangers, as at a beer drink or on encountering the Government Messengers from Fort Rosebery, he reacts at once by placing them in a category in terms of the distinguishing characteristics that have come to be associated with their tribe, and he adjusts his behaviour accordingly. But Mitchell was able to carry his analysis of this categorizing process much further: he was able to demonstrate how, despite the large number of tribes represented on the Copperbelt, the whole of the African urban population was in fact broken down into and contained within a very limited number of broad

tribal categories. Knowledge of an alien tribe, its language, culture and system of internal relations are related to geographical and social distance. Neighbouring tribes may be acutely aware of the hostilities of cultural and historical differences which divide and separate them from each other; but such matters lie beyond the ken of the remote outsider living in another part of the country. His knowledge of the distant tribes is likely to be fragmentary, so that he tends to overlook or to be unaware of their internal differences and to bracket them all together, treating them as a single tribal entity. In this way, for example, the Bemba of the Northern Province ignore the considerable differences that exist between the tribes of the Eastern Province, and in the towns lump them all together as Ngoni, the dominant tribe of the region. In the same way, all Africans from the Belgian Congo who seek work on the Copperbelt are known locally as Kasai. For a long time I had myself lingered under the impression, fostered by African usage, that the term Kasai referred to a specific tribal group; it was only late in my field-work that I came to realize that the usage was only a further illustration of the categorizing process.

Tribalism in the sense just defined operates in a wide range of situations, but its influence is most noticeable perhaps in the field of personal interaction. Kinsfolk apart, a man like Chanda finds his most intimate associates among those he calls ' home-fellows ' or fellow tribesmen. These are the ones he will put himself out to go and visit, and with whom he prefers to sit and chat and drink beer. In the urban context Lunda of Kazembe are associated with the numerically preponderant Bemba, with whom they share a common language and many common customs and traditions. Chanda has a number of friends, like Thompson for example, who are Bemba, but he appears to have no close friends outside the range of Bemba-speaking peoples. But, as in the case of kinship, tribalism involves more than a mere delimiting of the range of interaction. Membership of a tribe also imposes an obligation, vaguely defined though it may be, to give mutual aid and support. Amongst fellow tribesmen one is always at home, for all share certain common interests which set them apart from or in opposition to the other tribes amongst and with whom they live and work in the towns. At the same time it should be stressed here that tribalism is always situational; it does not operate equally or with the same degree of intensity over the whole field of social relations in which the urban Africans now participate. The young man Godfrey was linked with the African detective as a fellow Lozi; but he associated himself with alien tribesmen in their common opposition to the other in his rôle of policeman.

One concept that finds repeated expression throughout Chanda's account is that of prestige. In broad terms prestige refers to the esteem and regard which are accorded to a person (or group) in virtue of his personal qualities, his special abilities, or his general mode of

behaviour and way of life. In the Ndola context some of the marks by which a man of prestige is known are indicated in Chanda's account of his visit to his brother-in-law and in his conversations with Francis. He had called on the former in order to see his sister, he said, but it is likely that he was more interested in learning whether Martin had brought him back a ' fever coat ' from Elizabethville. A number of observers of the Northern Rhodesia scene have already remarked the importance which Africans attach to matters of dress. At this time it seems that the ' fever coat '—a long, loose-fitting jacket—was particularly prized, and possession of one would have enabled Chanda to cut a considerable dash. Here then prestige accrues to the African who dresses smartly in the ' European ' fashion. Again, Chanda himself acquires prestige because of his light complexion—' you look just like a European '—and because in his mode of dress and in other ways he comports himself like a ' gentleman ', one of the many terms now in common use on the Copperbelt to convey the notion of superior social status (cf. Epstein, 1959). On the other hand, in other contexts and in other company his incapacity for consuming large quantities of beer might count against him and stamp him as something less than a full man. Evaluation in terms of prestige extends even to the tribes themselves: this is clearly reflected, for example, in the boasts of the Lamba who had married ' a beautiful lady of Kawambwa ', for the Lunda in general have a reputation for sophistication, while the Lamba are collectively designated as *bapwapwa*, a term of contempt originating in the alleged propensity of the Lamba for eating the lungs (*pwapwa*) which is commonly regarded as ' dirty ' meat.

In this context then prestige emerges as a pervasive concept in the sense that it enters into almost every social activity and into every social relationship; or re-phrasing it more forcefully, there are very few facets of human behaviour which may not be seized upon in evaluating prestige. This is perhaps what one would expect for the general fluidity of the urban situation, and heterogeneous and differentiated character of the African urban population with its concomitant diversity of norms and standards of behaviour, and the marked emphasis on achieved as against ascribed status creates a set of conditions in which the struggle for prestige becomes a major preoccupation of the new urban-dwellers. Accordingly, the criteria of prestige are extremely varied, often ill-defined, and frequently inconsistent. There is therefore no one single principle which embraces all the various criteria of prestige, and no single prestige system which comprehends the whole community. In this sense prestige may be said to be ' particular ' in that its conferment always involves reference to a particular situation and to a particular set of people. In another sense, however, prestige is ' general ', and it is important that the two usages of the term be kept distinct. By ' general ' I mean here that despite the variability in the components that enter into the whole notion of prestige, certain of these will tend

to run together in clusters, and have widespread recognition throughout the community. Thus white-collar occupation, secondary school education, smartness in dress and appearance, a well furnished house, etc., are in themselves important and independent criteria of prestige. When they run together—as frequently they do—they mark out readily the man of acknowledged superior status. It is this ' clustering ' which has enabled Mitchell and myself to speak (Mitchell, 1957a; Mitchell and Epstein, 1959) of the ' European way of life ' as providing a scale in terms of which the African urban population is stratified. In other words, such clusters or configurations provide the basis for the emergence of social classes as a further important category of social interaction. Social classes arise out of consciousness of kind: amongst the members of a class there is a ready and mutual acceptance of one another as social equals; they interact more frequently, exchange visits, develop common interests and activities and even distinctive modes of behaviour which mark them off clearly, at least in their own eyes, from other classes. It was precisely in these terms, for example, that Thompson and Chanda saw themselves as set apart from the scurrying African labourers who had once laughed at them for wasting their time in school.

Thus prestige in its ' general ' aspect provides a working model of the class structure which the Africans themselves employ in a wide variety of situations. But it does not follow from this that in practice the lines of demarcation between classes can always be rigidly drawn. The fact that ' general ' prestige is built up around a cluster of criteria allows of different combinations and permutations which may make ' class placement ' in fact extraordinarily difficult. This lack of rigidity in turn serves to promote and intensify the struggle for prestige within and between the strata, so that increasingly refined, ' particular ' criteria of prestige come to be invoked to advance one's status. Thus while ' general ' prestige provides an overall framework for categorizing the urban population in terms of class, in terms of actual social interaction ' particular ' prestige becomes increasingly important in marking inclusion or exclusion from class membership. The variety and diversity and the general pervasive character of the ' particular ' criteria of prestige thus opens the way to a complex pattern of changing allegiances and cross-cutting ties both within and between classes.

We have already had occasion to remark on the high degree of diversification as a characteristic of urban communities. With this process there goes too an increasing segmenting and specialization of social interests. A further mark therefore of urban communities is the development of various kinds of formal association for the protection and furtherance of those interests. Indeed, it is a common assumption in the literature of urban sociology that, with the progressive displacement in urban society of ' primary ' by ' secondary ' groups the association comes to have overriding importance in the social organization of the town. In recent years this view

has been increasingly challenged (see Dotson, 1951; La Piere, 1954): certainly there is little support for it to be found in the Ndola material. Thus throughout Chanda's account there is mention of only one association, the African National Congress—and even then the reference was incidental. Here Chanda's lack of emphasis on the associations accurately reflects the relatively limited extent to which social relationships amongst Africans in Ndola are organized through membership of these bodies.

Apart from the churches, to one or other of which the vast majority of Africans in Ndola give at least nominal allegiance,[1] those associations which affect potentially the largest number of persons are the African National Congress and the various African trade unions. The African National Congress is a political body organized on a territorial basis, with a central headquarters at Lusaka and local branches throughout the country organized on a provincial basis. Ndola is the headquarters for the Western Province. Congress claims to represent the voice of African opinion in the Territory, and since its inception in 1949 has organized a number of campaigns to rectify African grievances or to protest against ' measures considered detrimental to African interests '. Despite the widespread popular support the Congress has enjoyed, it is a loose-knit organization, in some respects extraordinarily haphazard, with a very small registered membership. Indeed, the concept of a regular membership has very little meaning when applied to a body like Congress. Anthony Sampson's description (1958, p. 41) of the African National Congress in South Africa is equally appropriate to Northern Rhodesia: ' there are times of sudden indignation in the locations where nearly everyone claims to be a Congressman, others when Congress appears to consist of only a hard core of enthusiasts.' The activities of Congress are intermittent, and as a political association Congress acts to organize the community only in spasmodic eruptions and for specific purposes. So far as trade unions are concerned, the analysis which I offered (Epstein, 1958, ch. 4) of the ' location ' unions in Luanshya seems equally relevant to Ndola. There are a number of African unions in the town, but with the possible exception of the Municipal and the Railway Workers' Unions, they are small, poorly organized and ineffectual. Indeed, in a few cases the organization has so broken down that it is only in a nominal sense that one can speak of the union as continuing to exist. Finally, there are a number of recreational bodies such as the Football Club or the Ballroom Dance Society, and the tribal dancing teams of the kind described by Mitchell in his paper on the Kalela dance. Conspicuously absent in Ndola is the profusion of

[1] Most of the major denominations of organized Christendom are represented in the town. Roman Catholics constitute the largest single group, while in recent years the Watchtower sect (Jehovah's Witnesses) has emerged as an influential and highly organized group. There has been little of an African separatist movement in the Territory.

tribal associations, mutual aid or burial societies, and the variegated assortment of social clubs reported so frequently of other urban communities elsewhere in Africa.

The apparent paucity of associational life in the town, and the general rôle of the associations in the community raise problems which lie outside the scope of the present paper. What is important in the present context is that they involve a very different mode of ordering social relations from those considered hitherto. Typically the association has a clearly defined formal structure, and to this extent the relationships in which the members participate are themselves 'structured' or formalized. However, the associations too have a categorical aspect. Voluntary associations tend to arise out of the interaction of persons who see the formally constituted body as the proper or more effective way of furthering the avowed aims and interests they hold in common. Once established, the association may extend further its membership and so come to include many strangers, but all members now interact consistently within a new structural framework. On the other hand, interaction within the association also gives rise to new sets of ties which continue to operate outside this framework. Thus Chanda knew Crawford primarily as a leader in the African National Congress, but when they met casually at the Beer Hall and drank together their behaviour reflected a categorical rather than a 'structured' or formalized relationship. In precisely the same way relationships developed within an institutional setting such as at school or at work provide a basis for friendly social intercourse of a different kind outside that setting. Apart therefore from the more specific rôle that they play in the political, economic and other sectors of urban life formal institutions and associations have a further importance in providing a major principle of recruitment to the network of social relations in which every urban African is involved.

## IV

In the preceding section I have used the account of his activities presented by Chanda to illustrate the random character of much of urban social life. I have also tried to show that within this extremely fluid field there are also elements of regularity, and here too I have made use of Chanda's material in illustrating some of their properties. Briefly, I have drawn attention to the importance of various categorical and formalized relationships in urban social structure. But Chanda's material also has a further and more direct bearing on our problem, for it draws immediate attention to another principle around which social relations are ordered. As I have already noted, Chanda's accounts show him interacting on a personal face-to-face basis with a fairly wide range of people to whom he is linked in varying ways: he acknowledges certain general obligations towards most of them, and he treats them in the main as his social equals.

Together these persons represent a section –in all likelihood a fairly limited one—of the total range of his social contacts in the town. However, they do not in any sense constitute a group for they lack any co-ordinating organization. They do not even form a collectivity for they have no corporate existence whatsoever: all they may be said to possess in common is the social tie which links each of them individually to a central figure, Chanda. Chanda, that is to say, is in touch with a number of people, some of whom may be in touch with each other, and some of whom may not. Barnes (1954) speaks of a social field of this kind as a network, and I find it convenient to follow his usage.

A network in this sense is always egocentric: it exists only and is defined with reference to a particular individual. As Barnes remarks, each person sees himself at the centre of a collection of friends. It follows therefore that the network is always ' personal ', for the set of links that make it up are unique for each individual. Chanda has his network, but the individuals who compose it are each also at the centre of their own. Many members of their networks will be unknown to Chanda as indeed is evident throughout his account. In parenthesis, it may be remarked that even his wife has her own network. While there are many kin and friends who form part of their common network, she has her own range of contacts which she maintains independently of her husband. This is consistent with their highly segregated conjugal rôles suggested by Chanda's material in which his wife is never once mentioned as accompanying him on his visits.

A network is made up of pairs of persons who interact with one another in terms of social categories, and who regard each other therefore as approximate social equals, ignoring in this context the slight differences in social status there may be between them. Since it is essentially ' personal ' the network allows of many different configurations, and these in turn may provide the basis for a typology of networks. Thus in handling problems of urban family structure in London, Elizabeth Bott (1957) attempted to relate variations in conjugal rôles to different kinds of network. Briefly, she distinguishes between close-knit and loose-knit networks. A close-knit network is defined as one in which there are many relationships between its component units: in a family which has a close-knit network many of its friends, neighbours and kinsfolk will know one another. In Bott's terms, such a network has a high degree of connectedness. By contrast, a loose-knit network exists where friends, neighbours and kin are not known to each other and the degree of connectedness is therefore slight.

Applying Bott's distinction, Chanda's network would appear to be of the loose-knit variety. However, closer examination of the data suggests that this may not be an adequate formulation. To begin with, not every link in the network possesses the same density; as we noted at the outset, Chanda does not interact with everyone

in the network with the same degree of intensity. There are those around him with whom he has close ties and who are also more closely knit together than others. There are others again with whom his ties are more or less close, but whom he sees less frequently and who are strangers or have only tenuous links amongst themselves. Thus there may be a relatively high degree of connectedness amongst those with whom Chanda interacts in terms of social class, or amongst those he counts as kin, but as between the two categories themselves the degree of connectedness may be slight. In short, the network may not be connected in its totality, but highly connected in its parts. Those people with whom Chanda interacts most intensely and most regularly, and who are therefore also likely to come to know one another, that is to say that part of the total network which shows a degree of connectedness, I propose to speak of as forming the *effective* network: the remainder constitute the *extended* network.

Barnes has observed (1954, p. 46) that it is only pairs of persons who are directly in contact with one another in the network who regard themselves as approximately of equal status; but he also points out that each person in the network does not necessarily regard everyone else in it as his equal. In the *effective* network the tendency of course is for status differentiation to be minimized; but in the *extended* network, although interaction takes place between approximate social equals, the likelihood of some status differentiation being recognized is much greater because of the different social categories from which the network is recruited. For example, when Chanda meets Thompson, or the orderly in the Public Works Department, or his wife's sister's husband Robert, he reacts to each of them as his social equals. Thompson himself, however, who is part of Chanda's *effective* network, knows neither the orderly nor Robert, and he would regard them both as his social inferiors, in the one case because of the orderly's lowly occupation, in the other because Robert belonged to a tribe that ranks low in popular esteem on the Copperbelt, and because he was a lorry driver to boot. The *effective* network then consists of clusters of persons fairly closely knitted together. The limits of such clusters—to use Barnes' term —are vague, but in some situations they show an exclusiveness so marked as to suggest the existence of groups in the strict sense, and point to recognizable divisions within the community. The *extended* network, on the other hand, which makes greater allowance for the gradations of social status, tends to cut across such divisions. The network as a whole, therefore, provides a covert or informal structure composed of inter-personal links which spread out and ramify in all directions, criss-crossing not only the whole of the local community, but knitting together people in different towns and in town and country.

In exploring the social system of Bremnes, Barnes was concerned with the concept of the network as one amongst a number of possible

tools for use in the analysis of the phenomenon of social class. Elizabeth Bott has also used it for somewhat similar purposes. For Bott the network of friends, neighbours and relatives mediates between the family and the total society: perception of the society as a whole, and in particular of the class structure, is thus related to experience within this primary social world. More immediately, however, Bott was concerned with the concept of the network in explaining variations of conjugal rôles within the family. It seems clear that all of these uses would be equally valuable in probing the social system of a town like Ndola. However, in concluding this discussion of the network I want to suggest that the concept may also have considerable relevance to the discussion of other problems arising within the urban field, such as the question of social control. For example, Mitchell (1957b) has expressed the feeling that African marriage on the Copperbelt is gradually assuming a character of its own. He then raises the question what mechanism, in lieu of the kinship system, operates to enforce the norms of married behaviour, and suggests for answer that it lies in the African Urban Courts. The rôle of the courts is clearly important here, but I suggest that a fuller understanding of the growth of new norms of married behaviour, and the pressures towards acceptance of them may be found in the operation of the network.

The evidence to support the view I am putting forward would take us far beyond the limits of the present paper. Here therefore I am able merely to sketch in the general argument. In the discussion hitherto I have treated the network simply as a series of links in a chain of personal interaction: nothing has been said of the content of the interaction. When we follow a young man like Chanda through these various links what we observe are a number of individuals conversing together, recounting experiences, exchanging news of acquaintances and friends, discussing personal matters or ideas and so on. Implicit in much of this conversation are the norms, values and attitudes, of general or special application, recognized in the society. An important part of such conversation is made up of gossip, that is the discussion of the affairs and behaviour of other persons in their absence. Viewed then in terms of the content of interaction the network may also be seen as a series of links in a chain of gossip.

In common parlance gossip is frequently associated with idle chatter: in sociological analysis, however, it represents an activity of considerable importance (see Colson, 1953). Much of gossip is condemnatory; but this implies the existence of some norm in terms of which one's character or behaviour is evaluated and condemned. In this sense the function of gossip is the reaffirmation of norms of behaviour held in common by those who participate in it. A further property of gossip is that its victims are rarely seized upon at random. In the words of Oscar Wilde's epigram, there is only one thing worse than being talked about, and that is not being

talked about. To be talked of in one's absence, in however derogatory terms, is to be conceded a measure of social importance in the gossip set; not to be talked about is the mark of social insignificance, of exclusion from the set. In other words, gossip denotes a certain community of interest, even if the limits of community can only be vaguely defined. It is within the *effective* network that gossip is most intense, and the marriages, affaires, and conjugal relations of those within the *effective* network are among its major themes. In this way continuous gossip leads not merely to the reaffirmation of established norms, but also to the clarifications and formulation of new ones. When we recall, too, the importance that attaches to prestige in this society, so that breach of the norm is also likely to involve loss of esteem in the eyes of neighbours and friends, the importance that the network may assume as an instrument of social control readily becomes apparent. Given, too, this emphasis on prestige, the ensuing struggle to which it gives rise must be expressed in the continuous adoption of new norms and patterns of behaviour, for only in this way can those who already possess high prestige ward off the challenge of their competitors. I suggest that new norms and standards of behaviour will tend to arise more frequently within the *effective* network of those who rank high on the prestige continuum, and that through the *extended* network they gradually filter down and percolate throughout the society. From this point of view the network would also appear to have importance as an instrument in examining the processes of social and cultural change.

## V

Thus far in this paper I have been discussing social regularities in terms of social relationships, and the ways in which these are ordered within a particular kind of institutional framework. It remains now to consider a quite different set of uniformities also amply illustrated in Chanda's account. These may be regarded as behavioural constants, regularities to be perceived in the actual modes of behaviour of Africans in the towns: they relate not to the form but to the content of social relationships.

These behavioural constants consist in customs and usages, and the values and attitudes which they express. Many of these derive from indigenous African tribal culture. Such are the custom of teknonomy, as when Chanda is addressed as ShiChomba, father of Chomba, and the continued expression of traditional standards of courtesy in modes of greeting and address, as when he was addressed by the Public Works Department orderly as ' father ' or when Chanda himself greeted James' wife in the customary way on seeing her for the first time after the birth of her child. Or again, tribal custom is exemplified in the occasion when Chanda's wife provided food for her female visitors, while he himself sat apart reading a newspaper. Amongst most, if not all, of the Northern

Rhodesia tribes men and women normally eat separately, and the custom is still widely followed in the towns. But while traditional practice and belief are often present at the core of a given behavioural complex, particular customs may be considerably modified under urban conditions, or perhaps survive only in fragmentary form. Finally, Chanda's accounts provide many instances of customs and modes of behaviour which are specific to the town. They are the expression of African urban, as distinct from or even opposed to tribal, culture. A good illustration is to be found in the incident involving the Ndebele girl, which argues a certain free-and-easy approach to extra-marital relations, an attitude which is also evident, incidentally, in Chanda's acquiescence in his friend's liaison with his classificatory sister. In certain circumstances urban Africans will express considerable concern about the extent of 'adultery'[1] in the towns, and can on occasion condemn profligacy as roundly as would any traditional guardian of tribal mores; but in everyday life sexual laxity is taken lightly and, indeed, is accepted by many as one of the more amiable aspects of the urban way of life, provided of course that one's affaires remain undetected or one is not oneself the injured party. On the other hand, the acceptance of 'laxity' is not the same thing as condonation of promiscuity. The urban areas have their own code of sex behaviour which includes norms for the regulation of extra-marital relations. Thus the Ndebele girl was fair game for Chanda because she was of an alien tribe; but more important is Thompson's comment that she could not refuse Chanda because of his smart appearance. In general, Southern Rhodesian girls have a reputation for sophistication. Many of those who come north are relatively well-educated, speak some English, and have a sense of dress which ranks them as more desirable than the local womenfolk. The implication of Thompson's remark was that such a girl could not demean herself by consorting with any Tom, Dick or Harry around the location, but a man of prestige, of high social status she would not refuse. Similarly, for Chanda himself the liaison would have been quite 'legitimate', and would have caused no stir so long as it was not discovered by the girl's husband or by his own wife.

Reference to the concepts of prestige and social status has been made on a number of occasions throughout this paper, and we have also had occasion to note some of the marks by which a man of prestige is known. Here therefore it only remains to observe how the notions of prestige and status as they have developed in the towns also provide norms of behaviour which different individuals can appeal to, and manipulate in handling their own relations. For example, Chanda was obviously disappointed when he learnt that his brother-in-law had not brought him a 'fever-coat' from Eliza-

[1] The word adultery is commonly used to translate a vernacular term—*bucende* in Bemba—which covers heterosexual relations of any kind which take place outside marriage.

bethville. I suspect that Martin had not done so because he knew too well Chanda's propensity for purchasing goods well beyond the range of his pocket, and his chronic inability to pay his debts. But Martin was too diplomatic to say so openly. Instead he explained that most of the ones he had seen were of inferior quality and unworthy of a 'gentleman'. Since it was in precisely these terms that Chanda liked to see himself, there was little he could say in reply, and he was compelled to hide his chagrin.

The persistence in the towns of tribal customs and values, the abandonment or modification and adaptation of others, and the emergence of specifically urban customs, usages and attitudes raise complex problems of a somewhat different order from those considered earlier in this paper. They raise questions about social and cultural change, and the relationship between them. It was in fact the emergence of these problems rather than the nature of urban society itself which first drew the attention of anthropologists to the towns of Africa. Thus there developed a tendency in these studies to view the urban situation against a model of the tribal system, with a consequent failure to grasp that the new patterns of behaviour were also frequently specifically urban responses. Today there is an increasing tendency to accept, as a point of departure, the assumption that urban life everywhere shares certain common characteristics, and that these provide the basis for a minimal definition of urbanism. It then follows that the social life of urban Africans will more closely resemble the way of life developed amongst urban dwellers in other parts of the world than it will the traditional folk-ways of the tribe. This must not be taken to mean that the African who comes to the towns at once abandons his tribal culture. It is of course clear that the African who leaves his tribal area to seek work in the town will take with him a whole set of customs, values, attitudes, beliefs and so on: not only will he continue to utilize these in the town, but their persistence in the urban milieu may in turn influence the ordering of social relationships there. However, the point is that for the urban African the town is something given, a datum, with which he has to come to terms and to which he has to adjust. In other words, the problem of cultural continuity has to be set firmly, in the first instance, in the context of the urban social system, the major elements of which I have sought to outline in this paper, and secondly, in the context of the wider system which consists in the interrelations of town and country. Urbanization is one of the most notable features of our age, and all over the world new towns are rapidly growing up, or ancient cities being transformed. For the most part they draw their populations from amongst peoples of widely differing cultures who hitherto had followed a peasant or tribal way of life. These towns differ widely amongst themselves, and yet, as towns, they may be expected to share many structural resemblances. In terms of the argument presented here, I suggest therefore that these emerging

urban communities provide for the anthropologist a potentially fertile field for exploring the interrelations of structure and culture.

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# THE LENSHINA MOVEMENT OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

by

ROBERT ROTBERG

THE Lenshina movement, Northern Rhodesia's most dynamic and controversial African religious organization, has surrounded itself with an effective aura of unnecessary mystery. It has allowed itself, and its leader, Alice Lenshina, to become the cause of uninformed speculation and concern. This article discusses the Lenshina movement (the Lumpa Church) as a social, religious, and nationalist phenomenon. It deals with the movement's origins and growth, with the church's secular rôle, and with the personality and figure of Alice Lenshina herself.

## I

The Lumpa Church (from the Bemba for ' above ' or ' highest ') owes its creation to Alice Lenshina Mulenga and her disciples. It is among the strongest and most active churches in Northern Rhodesia, with responsible, contributing members, a devoted clergy, and a self-regenerating sense of martyrdom. Its congregations have drawn Africans in large numbers from the ranks of orthodox mission churches, and the new church has come to pose a substantial threat to the continuation of certain mission stations.

The Lenshina movement includes, conservatively, about 85 per cent of those Africans who live in the leader's home district, and large numbers of Bemba, Nyanja, and Tumbuka-speaking persons in surrounding districts. The movement's strength lies predominantly among Bemba in rural areas between the Luangwa and Luapula Rivers, and in urban Copperbelt centres and Broken Hill. It may also be powerful east of the Luangwa River in the Lundazi district of Northern Rhodesia as well as in Central Nyasaland. There are also congregations in Lusaka and Livingstone, in Salisbury and Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia, and on the Rand in Johannesburg. Estimates can only be rough, but it is likely that 65,000 Africans offer allegiance to the Lumpa Church.[1]

The centre of the Lenshina movement is the Chinsali District of

[1] Lenshina claims 100,000 followers, but this is over-generous. Her church makes little distinction between baptized and non-baptized members when estimating membership. No proper records are kept.

Northern Rhodesia. It may be described as a remote rural area 500 road miles from the territorial capital at Lusaka. The district is topographically undistinguished, with a limited agricultural carrying capacity, and few important natural resources. Physically, it is bounded on its north-west flank by the Chambeshi River (part of the Congo system) and on its south-east side by an arbitrary line down the middle of the Lusaka-Mbeya road. Its other boundaries are mere lines on an administrative map.

The Chinsali District is populated almost exclusively by Bemba. They owe traditional allegiance to Senior Chief Nkula, assisted by government administrators who reside at Chinsali boma (see Richards, 1951, pp. 164–93, and 1935). Chief Nkula has had very little success in curbing the Lenshina movement, a rival centre of power in his own precincts. Since the Lenshina movement began he has feared a loss in his own power, and he has seen a constant diminution in the respect and fealty afforded him by his nominal subjects. Efforts made to counter Lenshina's growing power have always resulted in a strengthening of her own position.

A modest number of whites are also permanent residents of the Chinsali District. In addition to government administrators and employees and two white farmers and entrepreneurs, there are the members of two mission stations. The Protestant United Church of Central Africa occupies Lubwa Mission, where it maintains an 83-bed hospital, a doctor, a nurse, a teacher, two white ministers and their families and an African minister and his family. The mission, which is situated five miles from Chinsali boma, was founded in 1905 by an African teacher-evangelist sent from the United Free Church of Scotland mission headquarters at Livingstonia, Nyasaland. Europeans have been in residence there since 1915, and a hospital and church have existed almost as long (see Rotberg, 1960).

Ilondola Mission, 17 miles south of Lubwa, was once the headquarters of the Luangwa Vicariate of the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic order. Now it is another of many stations in North-east Rhodesia run by the Abercorn Diocese of that order. The then Chief Nkula invited the White Fathers to open Ilondola Mission in 1934. Soon a small dispensary and a large school programme was organized at the mission, and the fathers obtained an extensive and enthusiastic following in the surrounding district. Little of this activity now remains; the staff now consists usually of two priests, a lay brother, three sisters, and ten African catechists.

With the growth of the Lumpa Church at Lenshina's village of Kasomo, this pattern of traditional missionary activity changed. The increasing importance of Kasomo, 12 miles by road from Lubwa and six miles from Chinsali boma, has corresponded to a downgrading in the importance of Lubwa and Ilondola. The two missions had approximately 12,000 members or catechumens before 1955, when the Lenshina movement began to develop into the Lumpa

Church.[1] Lubwa hospital still continues to be the medical centre of the district, but otherwise the two missions have come increasingly to be neglected by local Africans. Less than 600 spiritually strong Christians are all who remain of the large congregations at Ilondola and Lubwa. Vigorous effort and a continuous re-examination of method by missionaries of both bodies has failed to stem the movement of members from the orthodox churches to the new sect.

Few other religious organizations in Southern Africa have matched the Lenshina movement in the speed of their growth, in the fervour of their members, or in their members' demonstrated loyalty to a religious idea. Most mission bodies must themselves build mud and wattle out-churches if they are to have worship centres in the rural areas. In contrast, Lenshina's followers build attractive churches of thatch and mud wherever a local organization exists. They are quick to defend the honour of their congregation, and to persecute those who believe otherwise. They are faithful in church attendance and generous in their contribution to the church's coffers. In short, Africans who formerly were indifferent members of other churches have become devoted followers of Lenshina.

## II

Such a profound spiritual metamorphosis in a remote locality could have transpired only as a result of a startling experience. Although the Lumpa Church has moral rules and a prescribed form and content to its ritual and dogma, the core of the church, and its vitality, comes from the essential oneness of Alice Lenshina, her faith, and her vision. The central experience, so essential to any religious movement, is Lenshina's belief in her own death, rebirth, and personal confrontation with God. Her teleological and spiritual awakening dates from this experience.

Among a people with traditional reverence for persons possessed of spirits, the events recounted by Lenshina in September, 1953, must have come as a clear and definite call. The Bemba responded with alacrity after 1954 to Lenshina's purported vision of the Almighty, and to the prophetic word transmitted from above. They responded the more when they learned that Lenshina had received from the Almighty that which many had believed was the exclusive province of white men and their missionaries. Despite the earnest teaching of many missionaries, it is evident that few Bemba in Chinsali District had been convinced that Christ's death had been for Africans as well as for whites. After news of the vision spread throughout the Chinsali District, they came to believe that Africans

[1] In 1956 the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland said it had lost at least 2,600 converts to the Lenshina Movement. *The Northern News*, 25th May 1956. Also, personal information, Rev. Fr. A. Van der Aker, W.F., 21st August 1959.

could also possess that knowledge and body of religious and mat
experience which had heretofore appeared to be exclusively
province of whites.

It is extremely difficult to sort truth from fiction when one s
to relate the detail of Lenshina's religious experience.[1] The
statements made by Lenshina herself in 1953 have never
recorded in full. She now refuses to discuss the original
frontation in detail, presumably because so many contradi
accounts have been attributed to her. Those reports which
reached the Rhodesian and overseas press in 1955 and 1956
well give garbled and misleading information of that which
occurred.[2] Sadly, the memories of Africans known to have
in the Chinsali District at the time when Lenshina had her
ported vision are coloured by the changes, the additions and
tractions, that have taken place in constant recounting of the
Correspondingly, the memories of those whites who were the
the area are almost all unreliable. There are no contemporary
counts in government files. We must therefore rely on the
government administrator at Chinsali boma, and on the mission
then in residence at Lubwa, for only these witnesses kept det
and accurate notes of the events of their time. The Roman Cat
versions (see Ilondola Mission, *c.* 1953–4) are not useful.

It is thus clear that Regina (pronounced, and now spe
Lenshina) Mulenga had her vision and her death and rebirth
she had been picking mushrooms in fields near her home at Kaso
She was a lapsed catechumen of the Lubwa Church, where
husband Petros Mulenga was employed by the mission. Lens
went for mushrooms, but failed to return within a reason
number of hours. Her village reported her missing to the b
authorities, but after two days had elapsed she returned of her
accord to Kasomo. There she told the astonished villagers
she had died not once but four times, and that each time she
risen to heaven after mourning had begun (see Macpherson, 19
The Lord is reported to have said it was not her time, and to
told her that there remained work for her to do on earth.[4]
not clear whether her confrontation was with an undefined Be
a God or Lesa, or with the body and person of Jesus Christ.[5]

[1] Research for this article was conducted in Northern Rhodesia during
Mr. Simon C. Katilungu gave invaluable assistance. I am also indebte
Rev. John V. Taylor for knowledge of his own investigations.

[2] *Vide The Northern News*, n.d. February 1956; *Time* magazine, 25th
1956; *The Manchester Guardian*, 10th September 1956.

[3] Personal information, R. R. Stokes, Mporokoso, Northern Rhod
September 1959. But Rev. V. W. Stone (1958, unpublished) says she was g
birth to a baby when she collapsed under a tree and ' died ', only to be
again. Alice does have a child of this approximate age.

[4] In Bemba: *Mubwesheni. Inshita yakwe tailafika.*

[5] Lenshina told Macpherson she saw Christ. She told Stokes she s
' great God or a Lord.' More recently she told me she had seen a God
Lord-like man.

one version she said the 'Lord' was a man difficult to describe. His face was a sheath of light and it was all incredibly bright.[1]

At the edge of a river (the Jordan or the Styx?) the Lord told her to put her kerchief on the ground, and that He would instruct her in the ways of the faith and in its liturgy and hymns. On the white head cloth which she wore, and which she placed on the ground, the Lord placed a Bible or a 'book of life' (Macpherson, 1958). She later showed Rev. Fergus Macpherson the stain of the book—a yellow mark—on her head cloth. She showed the missionary the mark of its perspiration (*icibe*).[2] The Lord went on to explain to her all the teachings of the 'book of life'; there are two versions at this point, one which insists the Lord took the book away again, the other that there were two books, one of which He gave Lenshina instructing her to hide it and never let it be found, and another which he retained.[3] There is a further report, which Lenshina now disavows, which insists that there were two books, but that one had been denied Africans (it was said to be kept in Edinburgh or Rome), and that the new book received by Lenshina was a form of compensation designed to be read by Africans alone.

The Lord evidently instructed her to bear effective witness to Him, but not to found a new church or to lead her people on any crusades. She was not to thunder in the manner of Amos or Hosea, nor was she to emulate the early sixteenth-century Rheinland mystics. She was told presumably to recount her experience and to sing her newly-learned hymns.[4] She was also instructed to go to the Lubwa missionaries and to relate to them her tale. In fact, the missionary was to have a message for her.

Lenshina followed her instructions. She was well received by Mr. Macpherson; he put her under further catechismal instruction and later had her baptized Alice by an African pastor of the mission.[5] The Lubwa missionaries publicly expressed faith in her vision, and proceeded to incorporate the expression of her religious experience into the body of the existing church. Relations between the mission and the followers of Lenshina were amicable and Presbyterian congregations met both at Lubwa and Kasomo; Lenshina's followers were often transported about the surrounding district in a mission lorry. Lenshina's witness was accepted without fanfare or any conferment of unusual status or privileges.

Such was the beginning of the movement that has now become the Lumpa Church. With so much that could be important

[1] This was said to Stokes about two weeks after her purported vision.

[2] Personal information, Stokes.

[3] The 'Reed Pipe . . .' says there were three books. Lenshina now disowns the possibility that there ever was more than one book. Stokes, Macpherson, and Stone all indicate she said otherwise at the time.

[4] Macpherson says Lenshina was able to sing parts of the hymns immediately she came to him at Lubwa after her vision.

[5] There are unsubstantiated reports that she was baptized Alice by her own people.

obscured by the haze of hindsight, it is equally difficult, to conclud that her visionary experience was real, and that she did indeed confe with a God, or that she deliberately concocted a false spiritual tal to beguile tribesmen and thereby to contribute to her own materia well-being.

Her detractors and those sceptical of her veracity are many an often distinguished. Certain government officials believe she ex perienced an epileptic fit, or was transported into the realm o delusion after consuming poisonous mushrooms, but a belief i either occurrence would not immediately explain her new hymn (unless she composed them at the time) or her detailed descriptio of books and of the Deity's instructions.[1] Many influential Whit Fathers are convinced Lenshina's spiritual experience was a care fully planned hoax from beginning to end. They claim her husban conceived such a plan during a stay in Tanganyika before 195 There, they say, he learned of a Nyakyusa woman who had ha a putative vision of Christ. A small religious movement develope around her, and it was financially rewarding to herself and to he immediate circle of disciples. Knowledge of this movement mot vated Petros Mulenga, according to the White Fathers, to instruc his wife to go into the forest and to return with tales of a visionar experience. It is almost impossible to verify the Catholic claim as no such movement was known among the Nyakyusa until year later.[2] It is also doubtful that Petros had formulated plans at th stage, for it was not until two years after Lenshina's vision tha the movement developed any organization or very extensive follow ing. Plans would presumably have been set in motion at an earl date if material gain was the motive for Lenshina's vision. Len shina herself is a simple woman, and Mr. Macpherson, who spok the language well, and knew the people, is reported to have accepte her tale. If visions are possible, it appears that Lenshina had genuine experience.

## III

Little is known about Lenshina Mulenga's life before her visio brought her public renown. She is a willing, but unfortunately no a detailed or accurate witness as to her own past. Time and date mean little to her. Even so, it is fairly clear that she was born i 1919–20 after her father, an *askari* who had served in the Britis campaign against General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, had returne home to Kasomo. Before the war he had lived in Kasomo an had served as a policeman or *kapasu*. The family was non-Christia

[1] Mushrooms are known to produce hallucinations if the harmful varieti are consumed during certain seasons of the year. But it is unlikely an Africa woman would not know enough to distinguish between the two varieties.

[2] Monica Wilson, *in. litt.* 25th November 1959, reported no evidence of suc a movement among the Nyakyusa before 1955. In 1956–7, however, there wa a spectacular witch-finding movement which stirred many chiefdoms. It wa started by a supposed Christian from BuKinga.

and Lenshina's mother was the second of her father's three wives. Lenshina had three sisters and four brothers: one brother is a boma messenger, one is a clerk on the railroad, one is an urban policeman, and another is a clerk at the Kitwe-Nkana copper mine. Lenshina was the fifth-born of those children who survived.

With Petros Lenshina had two girls and three boys, including several who are still in school. Her life, always centred upon Kasomo village, had not been an eventful one. She knew and was associated with the Lubwa church members; otherwise she was known simply as the wife of Petros Mulenga. When this short, stout, and dowdy woman became famous it took her neighbours and friends time to realize that her own experience would soon transform their own unexceptional lives.

The cult of Lenshina developed only gradually into a fully-fledged movement. Reports of her experience spread beyond Chinsali District to the Copperbelt and other sections of Northern Rhodesia. Slowly the wonder of her rebirth and her vision was communicated, presumably by word of mouth, to Africans throughout Central Africa. They came from all over Northern Rhodesia to see her and to hear about her own transformation. During the first two years after her vision, at least, Lenshina had believers more than followers. Those who believed were not, strictly speaking, a movement, and the cult of Lenshina posed little threat to orthodox missions or to the administration.[1] Originally Lenshina was not labelled a heretic, and she herself did little to magnify her own rôle or to capitalize on her unique experience.

Only in 1955, almost two years after the original occurrence, did the Lenshina movement establish itself as a force with which orthodox missions would need to reckon in the future. Mr. Macpherson returned to Scotland in late 1954, and it was only after his departure that Lenshina's followers became a movement and gained impetus. At about this time Lenshina began preaching and guiding those Africans who visited her. Her tirades against the evils of witchcraft and sorcery began during this period. She also baptized adherents for the first time, including many who were otherwise members of the Lubwa Church. The beginnings of her own church were also fostered by the expulsion, at this same time, from the Church of Scotland of certain influential African teachers and evangelists who lived at Lubwa. They were accused of immorality. These men, most of whom had nationalist sympathies, joined the budding Lumpa Church in positions of authority.

If materialist scheming has ever entered the Lenshina movement, it was probably about this time that her husband and those expelled from Lubwa recognized the potentialities of the Lumpa Church and began grooming Lenshina for the demanding rôle of oracle and prophetess. She began to speak more frequently as an intermediary with the Lord, and she held meetings during which she would interpret

[1] In general, whites took little notice of Lenshina before 1956.

mysterious sounds which purportedly were an emanation from Heaven. The White Fathers have proof, they say, for asserting that the mysterious ' heavenly ' noises actually were produced by a wooden or reed pipe which Lenshina played while her followers' backs were turned.[1] In recent years Lenshina has ceased to display such legerdemain although her followers still cite such events—which they claim as genuine manifestations of her rôle as an intermediary—as attributes of her person and power.

The leaders of the Lenshina movement have made considerable financial gain from their positions in the new church. Although it is difficult to believe that Lenshina herself planned her spiritual awakening in order to obtain material reward, she has clearly taken pleasure in her improved standard of living and in her new found sense of power and adulation. Baptisms or special projects always call forth collections in the many Lumpa Churches. Pennies, shillings, and goods in kind are asked of the faithful, and they may also be expected to contribute their labour to church projects. The local preacher always retains some of the proceeds of any collection. He ships the bulk of the proceeds to Petros Mulenga, who acts as the church's treasurer. Whatever his motive, Petros has certainly capitalized on his wife's religious vision to amass wealth and to build a financially strong church. Most outsiders accuse Petros and his assistants of feathering their own nests and of using Lenshina and the Lumpa Church as a comfortable façade. Petros' character, and his trips to gaol, lend credence to this view. However, there is still no conclusive evidence and certain questions still remain: Does Lenshina condone his activities? Is she blind to them? Or has she been persuaded to join their ' get-rich-quick ' efforts?

## IV

The Lenshina movement has developed into a fanatically puritanical one. Since 1955 Lenshina's teachings and energies have been devoted primarily to the eradication of witchcraft. She has made an outstanding success of gathering charms and objects used by witches, or by others to protect themselves from witches. To her, sorcery has been the scourge of her people, and she received a ready response when she preached a holy war against witches. Witchcraft, says Lenshina, is bad because ' it kills a person made by God '. Witches ' take the position of a lion who catches human beings'.[2] During the formative years of the church (1955-8) adherents joined the Lumpa Church after surrendering objects of divination, making a profession of faith and being received for baptism. Today one can see piles of these objects—looking quite harmless—in Kasomo village.[3]

[1] *Vide* ' The Reed-pipe . . . ' and *Time*, *loc. cit.*
[2] Lenshina, personal information, 22nd August 1959.
[3] Most of the objects are amulets, pipes, beads, and hoes.

Lenshina herself has also set the tone of the movement's other simple dogma. Polygyny is inimical because 'when a man has two wives the wives quarrel because of jealousy'. Polygyny also 'encourages women to get medicine and witchcraft to kill other wives, which is bad in the eyes of God.' Adultery results in analogous problems and furthermore is prohibited, she says, by the Bible. The daughter of a second wife in a polygynous marriage might well feel strongly about these matters, and it is equally of little surprise that Lenshina's appeal is generally greater among the less educated rural women than among urban-dwelling men.

The use of beer, or the brewing of beer, is discouraged. Lenshina herself is adamantly against the consumption of alcohol, and against drinking by any of her followers, but in practice she has been no more successful on this score than have other temperance leaders in Northern Rhodesia.

In 1957 the Lumpa Church codified its rules and presented them to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia.[1] They are:

No Christian should slander, use foul words, tell lies, be haughty, brag, hate, be fierce, evince sulkiness, give false evidence, be stingy, be contemptful, use cunning, or steal. . . . He should not be covetous, nor be a witch, or a robber, nor should he commit adultery. He should not divine by tests or bewitch or get drunk, sing bad songs, participate in corrupt dances, and all such bad customs.

He should have good manners in public, in private, when eating, when going to bed, waking up, or when beginning work and finishing work, when he is rejoicing as well as when he is sorrowful . . . and he should pray to his Father.

When there is a wedding, no beer or corrupting dances should be found. . . . Those who are married by Christ should not divorce until death. The duties of a Christian are to meet with friends and to pray in other churches as well as his own. Everyone should pray to God in a proper way.

No widower or widow should marry by inheritance, but he or she should only wear a white bead, and if he or she wants to marry he or she can do so. A Christian should have only one wife, because polygamy destroys character and makes a person use abusive language and to swear, and also it makes him want to possess charms for destroying other people, a thing which our Father does not like.

No Christian should take part in feasts organized at a place where a man had died, nor should there be any pagan ceremonies in honour of the spirit of the deceased.

At a time of prayer no one should smoke . . . or take snuff, and those things should not be taken into the church. When you smoke any type of tobacco you spoil the enjoyment of other people who are listening to the word of God. It is not wanted in the church because there are many kinds of tobaccos.[2] Smoke is bad in church because then no one can enter. Tobacco is bad to God who is in heaven.

[1] Alice Lenshina Mulenga—Governor of Northern Rhodesia (Arthur Benson, K.C.M.G.), 28th April 1957.

[2] She alludes to Indian hemp, commonly mixed with locally-grown tobacco.

If a person is drunk he should not go into church—even if he only took a drop, because beer takes a man from God's ways. So even if he came to pray he would not hear anything . . . he would be praying to beer and he would become very talkative and would disturb those who are listening to the good message. He would bring misunderstanding into church because drunkenness is uncontrollable.

Everyone must take their hats off in church.

## V

Despite the Lumpa Church's schismatic nature, its dogma and liturgy are orthodox, at least in form. The Bible, as translated into Bemba by Presbyterian missionaries, is used as the basis for prayer and sermons; it may also be considered of importance for almost all church activities. Hymns are seemingly indigenous in origin (at least those composed after Lenshina was given the first hymns from on high) although their subject matter is traditionally Christian. The church has no communion, but baptism—in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—is a regular practice. Those received into the church are sprinkled; in the past immersion was favoured. Lenshina professes to see no substantial difference between her own church, Roman Catholicism, and the United Church of Central Africa in terms of baptismal practice. She naturally believes her church has an equally valid right to baptize. The confessional as a form of expiation is not recognized by Lenshina although she originally conducted private meetings with prospective adherents and said she was, in fact, hearing confessions. Monetary contributions were always expected at these early confessions, and now, when her priests hear confessions in her stead, the contributions are emphasized even more.

Like most separatist sects the Lumpa Church has no systematic theology. On the other hand, it differs from orthodox Protestantism mainly by its acceptance of a visionary experience as the core of central belief. The church's other beliefs naturally are based on Lenshina's own conception of her witness. Her views of creation and the Godhead are traditional. A simplified version of the standard account of Genesis is sufficient to explain creation. She does not fret about the qualifications and the hedges with which Biblical Genesis is bound; instead she is content to state simply that God created the world and its people, and then set life in motion. And, in her view, there is but one God (she believes those orthodox churches which have refused her comity falsely assert the existence of separate and recognizably different Gods).[2]

It follows that the prime controversial dogmas of orthodox

[1] Stone, and 'The Reed-pipe . . .' say her baptismal ceremonies are little more than heathen purification rites.

[2] After Macpherson's departure the Lubwa Church joined the White Fathers in branding her a heretic. She still smarts from verbal wounds received at that time.

Protestantism have little import for the Lumpa Church. Only the more sophisticated priests think them important, or of any relevance for the young church. Recognized concepts of traditional theology —'original sin', for example—have little meaning for the Lumpa Church. Thus, like the separatist sects and splinter groups discussed elsewhere,[1] the Lumpa Church must be regarded as an outgrowth of Protestantism (it need not be considered an aberration) that has developed spontaneously in an African context, in an African way, with an overlaid mosaic of Western values and Western theological presuppositions. The Lumpa Church fits most closely Wilson's categorization of the gnostic sect.[2]

The process whereby Lenshina has gained adherents—whereby the movement has made 'conversions'—is similar in nature to that of most separatist sects and also to those Protestant groups which are roughly fundamentalist and evangelical. Regeneration of the soul, an assertion of new found faith (so often epitomized by being 'born again'), and profession of rigid and unswerving loyalty are typical of such groups. To the Lumpa Church conversion logically implies 'leaving all temptation behind'.[3] Salvation is by faith, and faith in turn brings about good works and the pure life. For illustrative purposes three case studies of typical members of the Lumpa Church are given below. The individuals involved joined the church after some important change in their own life. The case studies are reported almost verbatim; the word 'sister' is used allegorically.[4]

Mr. A. was 35 years old and lived 45 miles from Kasomo. He was a regular visitor at Lenshina's court. He is an irregularly employed carpenter and has recently been made a priest or deacon in the Lumpa Church. He is also a former Roman Catholic. His report was straightforward and simple: 'I joined the Lumpa Church because one night [in 1955] I was sleeping and dreamed [*sic*] my mother [was] telling me that my sister had been given power by God to spread His Gospel. When I woke up the following day I received a letter from home, informing me that my mother was dead. I then hurriedly came back home [from Broken Hill] to look things over. I then joined the church.'

[1] *Vide* Berger, 1954, pp. 467–85; Pfautz, 1955, pp. 121–8; Schlosser, 1949, 1958; Shepperson, 1952, pp. 9–18, 1958; Sundkler, 1948; Wilson, 1959, pp. 3–15.

[2] Wilson, 1959, pp. 6–7. The Lumpa Church only satisfies some of his criteria. The church does emphasize 'some special body of teaching of an esoteric kind'. It does offer a 'new or revived interpretation of Christian teaching'. It 'accepts the Bible as allegorical and complementary to its own gnosis'. But it does not replace conventional Christian eschatology 'by a more optimistic and esoteric' one. Christ is not a 'wayshower . . . rather than a saviour'. New mysticisms are not developed. A new cosmology and psychology is not offered. But there is a charismatic leader who pronounces wisdom. Other churches are 'regarded with indifference as ignorant or backward'.

[3] Lenshina, personal information, 23rd August 1959.

[4] Mr. Katilungu recorded these conversations, and others, at Kasomo during August 1959.

Mr. B., a former Jehovah Witness, lived six miles from Kasomo but worked regularly as a tailor in a Copperbelt town. He is now a deacon in the Lumpa Church. He returned home to see Lenshina in 1957 after another dream sequence: 'I saw my mother in a dream instructing me to join my sister's church. I paid no attention to this.' Later. 'I dreamed that my mother was urging me to join the church that God has given to Africa through an African woman.' He returned to his village in 1957 and then journeyed to see Lenshina. After meeting her he was convinced she had had a real experience; the tailor promptly was received into the church.

Mr. C. was an adherent of the Church of Scotland. He served in the Rhodesian army during and after World War II. One day he went to ask his white officer for permission to go to church on Sunday. The officer told him he ' was a fool ' to worship a European God. When, some years later, he learned of the Lumpa Church, he promptly journeyed from his home in North-east Rhodesia to visit Lenshina. He was quickly baptized by one of Lenshina's priests.

## VI

The church's liturgy, particularly its Sunday service, is similar to that of most Protestant mission churches. An ordinary Sunday morning service, held for one to one-and-one-half hours, is led by a black-robed preacher[1] and punctuated by opening and closing prayers, several bursts of solo, choir, and mass participation singing.[2] In between the hymns[3] (sung in vernacular), led perhaps by a choirmaster trained at a mission station, the preacher or preachers will discourse on Biblically-inspired messages, or on other matters of local importance.[4] The Biblical messages are usually allegorical, and kept very simple.[5] Women and children usually predominate in the congregation, although men are the leaders and organizers.

Lenshina's priests have now formed a carefully regulated hierarchy. Applicants, once granted the right to preach without question, now are carefully examined by Petros Mulenga and his assistants before they are allowed to become ministers in the Lumpa Church. There is little evidence, however, that the preachers are expected to understand Scripture or to be acquainted with little more than the basic tenets of Lenshina's experience. As the priestly hierarchy has

[1] I was told I was the first white allowed to participate in services at Kasomo.

[2] Sermons alternated with the hymns on one Sunday when I attended the service at Kasomo. The first sermon was a loose recitation of Luke 16: 19–31 The second was the story of Joseph (Gen. 37) and the third discussed the coming of Christ in Matthew 2.

[3] The hymns are often closely-knit parables, Biblically inspired.

[4] The Lumpa Church's leading choir-master, S. Rain Mulenga (no relation) was trained at Lubwa.

[5] The message is usually simplified and distorted to fit the needs of the day.

become more important, so Lenshina has tended more and more to assume titular responsibilities. She has delegated most of her powers and responsibilities to others.

From an evangelical point of view Lenshina's most impressive achievement has been the extensive chain of rural out-churches and their faithful congregations. Her monument, however, is the Lumpa Church cathedral at Kasomo. This massive edifice replaced a temporary 'temple' built near the site of her first religious experiences. The new church, of yellow-grey burnt brick, dominates Kasomo and the surrounding country-side. Aside from the new Roman Catholic church in Luanshya, the Lumpa Cathedral is the largest church building in Northern Rhodesia. It was purposely built slightly larger than the pro-cathedral at Ilondola.[1] It holds about 500 persons on low wooden benches. They face a raised platform and preaching stand which constitutes an altar. Women sit on the left facing the altar and men sit on the right.[2]

Behind the altar the wall is decorated black, yellow and white around a green crescent and an eight-pointed red and blue star. The side walls are pink and green, with blue curtains over the small and high-placed windows. Pillars run the length of the large nave; above the pillars, on a sloping wall to the peaked ceiling, is a plain yellow decoration, topped by a thin blue line and white above the peak of the roof. Little windows are glazed and painted yellow. The floor is cement. It was built exclusively by African labour, and with funds collected from the faithful, in November 1958. Its size remains a symbol of Lenshina's strength.

## VII

The Lenshina movement has had immense theological impact in Northern Rhodesia. It has also made itself a secular force important enough to be of concern to the territorial government. Religious ties have wielded disparate tribesmen into a cohesive and determined body of believers. Their unity of action extends, because of the prevalent racial antipathies in Rhodesia, beyond the purely religious realm to those concerns which affect Africans alone. Usually this results in conflict between the administration (white) and the church (black).

Lenshina insists the movement is not anti-white, as such, but it has clearly grown increasingly xenophobic. Many of Lenshina's priests are known to have strong nationalist sympathies, and it is evident to most observers that much of Lenshina's appeal is derived from the exclusively African nature of her church. The administration

[1] It measures about 250 by 45 feet inside.

[2] In 1958 the territorial Registrar of Societies said Lenshina's churches, by districts, were Kasomo 20, Isoka 6, Mpika 20, Chinsali 60, Broken Hill urban 3, Lusaka urban 4, Ndola urban 1, Kitwe 1, Kalulushi 1, Luanshya 2, Mufulira 1, Chingola 2, Bancroft 1, Lundazi east 10, Lundazi west 13, Kawambwa 3.

fears the Lumpa Church will become tightly allied with African nationalist movements, and that her large and devoted following will be difficult to control in time of stress. It is conceivable, of course, that Lenshina and her followers realize that their own involvement with nationalist movements could well damn the church to the point where it would be banned by the government. This could conceivably harm them financially, and so the Lumpa Church may always remain sympathetic to the mainstream of African nationalism without doing more than giving moral encouragement to the cause. In time of crisis or revolt, however, it is sure to lead its forces against whites thereby to follow today's prevailing tide in Africa.

The Lumpa Church has actively defied the territorial government on two occasions. Both disputes occurred after a series of petty incidents led to a show-down in which neither side could afford, for its own pride, to retreat. Both incidents illustrate the church's distrust of whites.

In September 1956 an African priest from Ilondola, Rev. Fr. Pascale Kakokota, was accused by a Lenshinite of being a wizard. During a time of increased tension between the White Fathers and Lenshina, Father Kakokota had been visiting Kasomo and taking his church's opposition into the enemy camp. On evidence of the priest the accuser was sentenced by the district administrator to one month's imprisonment for defamation and for accusing another falsely of being a witch.[1] Lenshina, her husband, and about 500 followers gathered at the boma soon afterwards demanding the prisoner's release, or a fine instead of imprisonment. Their requests were refused and the crowd, led by Petros, urged imprisonment of the entire assembly after the district commissioner had ordered the crowd to disperse. Six of the assembly were arrested. Several days later another crowd of Lenshinites renewed agitation at the boma for a release of all prisoners. They threatened a larger demonstration, but confined their efforts to the sweeping of leaves around the boma.[2] Lenshina herself, after discussing the situation with the district commissioner, ordered her followers to disperse. They remained, despite her command, and she left for Kasomo. Meanwhile Petros urged the crowd to continue their demands. He was promptly arrested along with 64 others. The then Bemba Paramount Chief, Chitimukulu, sentenced him (with the approval of the central government) to two years with hard labour. The others were dealt with more leniently, and demonstrations at the boma ceased.

In May 1959 troubles again erupted between the government and Lenshina.[3] For several years the Bemba hierarchy of chiefs had

[1] *Northern News* 20th September 1956, 21st September 1956, 26th September 1956.

[2] *Northern News* 20th September 1956; Williams-Acting P.C. 16th September 1956.

[3] Reports are still confidential. I am indebted to several reliable informants.

been concerned about Lenshina's increasing authority and her own, and her followers', increasing disregard for the chiefs' traditional authority. The Chinsali district commissioner agreed to co-operate with the chiefs in dealing with Lenshina's truculence. In particular, the village of Kasomo had existed for many months beyond the pale of any recognized African or territorial authority. It was evidently a region run exclusively by the Lenshina organization. It also harboured Africans there illegally from other districts.[1] Chief Nkula elected to send his *kapasus* to Kasomo to evict those illegally in residence; the *kapasus* met with a lack of co-operation and threats of physical violence from the residents of Kasomo. After a series of incidents messengers were sent from the boma to enforce the law in Kasomo. These men were denied peaceful access to the village by Lenshina's followers. The district commissioner warned Lenshina to remove the immigrants from her village; force would be used if necessary. A pitched battle did take place when his warnings were ignored: spears and stones wielded by the tribesmen were pitted against guns. After blood was shed the illegal residents were removed and order restored to the village.[2] The remainder of the case, and the trial of those arrested at the time of the battle, is now *sub judice*.

## VIII

There is no gainsaying that the Lumpa Church is firmly established as a religious group of lasting importance for Northern Rhodesia. A plump matron leads a large and dynamic church which is on the one hand both neo-Christian and anti-European. Her own unique religious experience is assumed genuine by her followers and is now the basis of a religious fervour which has few equals anywhere in Southern Africa. It is a puritanical movement, with all the narrow assumptions and distrust of outsiders one would expect of such a group. Secrets are guarded jealously and the movement looks with suspicion upon any who seek to penetrate its mysteries. As it has grown, however, it has gained structure, with a definite ecclesiastical hierarchy and a distribution of function along orthodox lines. As Lenshina has gradually come to play a less obviously important rôle in the movement it has become more firmly under the control of her husband and the priesthood. As such, it has increasingly become more openly antagonistic to members of other churches and other races.

[1] Interpretations of customary law forbid any African to move from the area of one chief to the area of another chief without the permission of both.

[2] The illegal residents have since returned in large numbers.

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## INSTITUTE NOTES

### Publications

**Papers**

Two Papers are scheduled to appear during 1961. The first, by the Acting Director, Mr. C. M. N. White, on Luvale beliefs and rituals, completes his Luvale trilogy. In the second Paper, four of Dr. Elisabeth Colson's Plateau Tonga papers, which have been published in various journals, have been collected and will be reprinted.

### 15th Institute Conference

The Institute's Fifteenth Conference was held in Lusaka from 6th to 10th March, on the subject: 'Social Research and Community Development'. Most of the Institute's staff and affiliates contributed papers or talks. Representatives of the Northern Rhodesia Government and the American organization International Co-operation Administration participated. This Journal went to press before final arrangements for the Conference were completed. The next issue will contain further information.

## REVIEWS

*Lugbara Religion.* By J. MIDDLETON. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1960. Pp. viii + 276. 38*s.*

ANTHROPOLOGISTS working on African Studies are increasingly turning to studies of religion, and Middleton's study of the Lugbara is a substantial and important contribution to the modern literature. The Lugbara are an acephalous Sudanic-speaking people, and authority rests in the hands of the elders of small agnatic kin groups. Conflict and competition for power is common between such elders and their dependents.

Authority in the material or physical sense is weak, and social control rests to a large degree on mystical sanctions divided in their loci between God, the dead and witches. There is a great variety of shrines, some to ancestors, some to ghosts: there are not only shrines to agnatic ancestors and ghosts but also shrines for the ghosts of women in the mother's mother's line, and shrines associated with the mother's brother. The various shrines of a minimal lineage collectively provide a ritual representation of 'the totality of social personalities of the dead members of a lineage', and ownership of a shrine is a symbol of a man's social status.

Sacrifice and pacification are recurrent rituals centred upon these shrines to the dead, and arise out of mystically caused sicknesses which are visitations from the displeased dead. Over a third of the book is devoted to a description of ancestors, ghosts, shrines and the rituals addressed to them. Middleton then turns to the sociological significance of these rituals, and gives us 34 cases to illustrate the working of rituals in one lineage. He shows how ghost invocation arises from disputes over authority and the Lugbara emerge as a quarrelsome people whose men are ambitous and seek authority. Indeed this trait enters into their value-system for it marks maturity, and the authority of seniors over juniors appears to be stressed at all levels of society. Conflicts find resolution through seeking to show that the ghosts do not look favourably upon a rival for authority. Relative status finds expression in genealogies and myths related to them; in social relations within an agnatic group; and in reactions of God and the spirits to the actors. The analysis of the interaction of these factors enables Middleton to examine the rôle of sorcery and witchcraft among the Lugbara.

In the last dozen pages some effects of modern influences and change upon Lugbara religion are discussed. One would have appreciated a fuller discussion of change, for the Lugbara emerge in this book as a conservative society, and it is said that they regard

their society as static and unchanging. Yet many Lugbara go away as migrant labourers, but apparently bring back little to affect the traditional way of life for we are told that ' there is in all fields a very marked separation of European and Lugbara ways of life ', Christians practice both Christianity and traditional rites, and the great majority of Lugbara still follow their traditional religion and ritual.

*Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.* C. M. N. White.

*The Gisu of Uganda.* By J. S. La Fontaine. Ethnographic Survey of Africa; East Central Africa, Part X. London: International African Institute, 1959. Pp. viii + 68. 9*s.* 6*d.*

Miss La Fontaine spent two years (1953–5) amongst the Gisu, and this volume in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa is based on her own field research. One would therefore expect an account not only of Gisu ethnography in pre-colonial times, but also of the present situation. On the whole, however, Miss La Fontaine ignores the modern changes in Gisu society and culture and deals with the past. This in itself would be of great value if she had been consistent, but this is not the case. Her account of the economy (pp. 14 ff.) refers to the present, but cash-crop cultivation (coffee in the hills and cotton on the plains) and its effects on economic organization, land transactions, and trade is grossly neglected. Similarly she describes the formal aspects of the lineage system (pp. 24 ff.) in the present tense, but the political and ritual significance of it is described only with reference to the past. Her account of village and territorial organization, political system and law are apparently also mainly a reconstruction of the traditional situation, but because no specific reference is made to the present practice the reader is unable to decide with any degree of certainty what is reconstruction and what is based on personal observation. Thus, after having described the territorial system and the political system, all with reference to the past, Miss La Fontaine says in a footnote (p. 32) to the section on law: ' In this section I shall deal with the traditional system only. Today, of course, Bugisu is part of the Protectorate of Uganda and is administered according to British Law.' Apart from the blatant inadequacy of such a statement it is difficult to accept that the local administration and the position of native chiefs and courts in Gisu society should be regarded as irrelevant in a survey of this kind. Again, traditional religious beliefs and rituals (pp. 50 ff.) are described as if they are still entirely adhered to and without reference to the effects of missions which have been active in the area since 1899 (p. 12).

The book as a whole has been hurriedly and carelessly prepared. On p. 9 we are told that the Sebei '. . . inhabit an area adjoining that of the Gisu to the north '. In the same paragraph Miss La

Fontaine states that ' The boundaries of Gisu territory today are . . . to the north . . . the dry plains inhabited by the Karamojong '. On p. 10 footnote 10 reads ' Huntingford, loc. cit. ' but no earlier reference to Huntingford can be found. Similarly on pp. 14 and 15 several references are made to ' Tothill, 1940 ', but the book referred to (*Agriculture in Uganda*) is not included in the bibliography.

The maps are inadequate. No roads or tracks are marked and the boundaries between climatic zones referred to on p. 13 are not indicated. The Legenyi, a Bantu tribe whose territory is ' Driven up like a wedge between the Gisu and the Sebei . . .' (p. 10) is not marked on the map of Gisu and neighbouring tribes but only on the map of Bugisu and Bukedi Districts (facing p. 9).

Miss La Fontaine does not deal consistently with either the past or the present and her data, especially on social, political, and economic organization, do therefore not readily lend themselves to comparison. In this respect the book has defeated its purpose.

*East African Institute for Social Research.* AXEL SOMMERFELT.

*The Skeletal Remains of Bambandyanalo.* By ALEXANDER GALLOWAY. 1959. Ed. by P. V. Tobias. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg. 10 × 7½ in. 154 pp. 24 tables. 46 text figures. 1 plate. Price 42*s.*

ON the 31st December 1932 a party of local farmers climbed to the top of a small flat-topped kopje, considered sacred by the local Venda and situated near the southern bank of the Limpopo River upstream from Beit Bridge. After scrambling up an almost precipitous ascent, and manœuvring their way past crumbling defence walls, they discovered, eroding from a grave exposed by a recent rain storm, a piece of yellow metal which turned out to be gold. Much more gold came to light the following day and, although at first the discovery was kept dark, the finders later made it known to the authorities and Mapungubwe Hill became the focus of protohistoric excavation in South Africa for the next ten years.

The culture of the peoples who lived on Mapungubwe Hill was related, though not especially closely, to that of the builders of the stone ' zimbabwes ' north of the Limpopo. The nature of the gold work, of the pottery, iron weapons and tools and the imports, linked these people with the Bantu-speaking groups who developed the Zimbabwe—Monomotapa culture. However, as Dr. Galloway showed, the skeletal remains from the hill showed very few negroid characteristics and rather were representative of the Bush-Hottentot stock. For some, this was an unsolved enigma, but for others it was the proof that some of the Later Stone Age peoples of southern Africa were not slow to change their economy when they came into contact with immigrant food producers.

In 1935 the late Captain G. A. Gardner took charge of the

excavations, both at Mapungubwe itself and in middens at a site named K.2 adjacent to Bambandyanalo Hill on the opposite side of the valley. At this last site he found cultural remains very different from those of the people who had lived on Mapungubwe. The K.2 group were apparently pastoralists only, showing no indication of a knowledge of hoe-agriculture.

Carbon 14 dates have been announced for Mapungubwe and K.2 which show that the latter was already occupied by A.D. 1055 and Mapungubwe by A.D. 1370. Captain Gardner's monograph on this excavation is long overdue but it is gratifying to know that he was able to complete it shortly before his death last year and its publication is eagerly awaited by African archaeologists and cultural anthropologists.

The present work comprises Dr. Galloway's description (completed in 1937) of the 37 individuals included in the skeletal material excavated from K.2. It has been edited by Professor P. V. Tobias in the light of later research. Professor Tobias also contributed the Epilogue on South African developments in physical anthropology between 1938 and 1958. In eight chapters the anatomical features of the population are described in detail, the crania, mandibles, teeth and post-cranial skeleton and the limb proportions in relation to the Bush and Negro physical types. The authors conclusively show that the relationships of the K.2 peoples lie with the 'Old Yellow races' of southern Africa. In addition can be distinguished certain anatomical features characteristic of the Afro-Mediterranean as well as of a Europoid long headed stock from North and East Africa. Dr. Galloway concludes by saying, 'The Bambandyanalo people are thus true representatives of a pre-Negro indigenous type, with which the Bantu-speaking Negro peoples had never hybridized'.

In his epilogue Professor Tobias discusses the Mapungubwe and K.2 populations in relation to other African stocks and shows that the anomaly of a Bantu culture with a Bush-Hottentot race is an apparent one only and that there are numbers of instances where 'the wave-fronts of genetic advance down the continent have not kept "in phase" with the waves of cultural diffusion'.

'Between them, Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe thus bridge a critical phase in the proto-history of southern Africa—the last centuries before the Bantu-speaking Africans arrived and the first years after negroidization of the sub-continent had begun.'

This is a fine example of the meticulous descriptive and comparative work that has come to be associated with the School of Anatomy of Witwatersrand University. Containing as it does the synthesis of present day concepts of race and culture in proto-historic times in southern Africa, it is an indispensable book of reference for archaeologist, linguist and anthropologist alike, as well as for the general reader.

*Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.* J. Desmond Clark.

## BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

THE Editors regret that it is not always possible to review all book which are received, and wish to acknowledge the following:

OTTENBURG, S. and P., *Cultures and Societies of Africa*, Random House, New York, April 1960.

# AFRICAN STUDIES

AFRICAN STUDIES (formerly ' Bantu Studies ') is a quarterly journal devoted to the study of African Administration, Cultures and Languages. The Editorial Committee is drawn from the Department of Bantu Languages and the Department of Social Anthropology and African Administration in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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